

6 E 2

MEMOIRS

OF

DENZIL

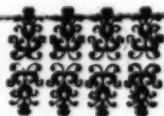
Lord HOLLES, K

Baron of *Ifield* in *Sussex*,

From the Year 1641, to 1648.

REVISED

BY J. P. K. 1791



L O N D O N,

Printed for *Tim. Goodwin* at the Queen's
Head against *St. Dunstan's Church* in *Fleet-*
street. M. DC. XC. IX.

15

MEMOIRS

OF

DEMY

LORD HOLLES

Baron of Hild in Suff.

From his V. & F. 1648.



LONDON.
Printed for T. W. Goodwin at the Queen's
Head against St. Dunston's Church in Fleet-
street. MDCXCIX.

I could not long deliberate
whether they desired a pub-
lic View, and therefore in-
tended to get them printed
without any further delay

To His Grace

J O H N

Duke of Newcastle, &c.

others to read these Memoirs
as the Duke had been oblig'd
to make for himself and a full
circle of action for his writing
them. But when I under-
stood that your Grace;

of the Love You bear to vir-
tue
W H E N the follow-
ing Papers of the
famous Lord Hob-
bes, Your Great Uncle, hap-
pend to fall into my Hands,

I could not long deliberate whether they deserv'd a public View, and therefore intended to get them printed without any further Ceremony; for the large share he had in the Transactions of those Times will as much engage others to read these Memoirs, as the Defence he was oblig'd to make for himself are a sufficient Reason for his writing them. But when I understood that Your Grace (out of the Love You bear to virtuous Actions, and Your Piety towards so near a Relation) did order a stately Monument to be erected at *Dorchester* for this Illustrious Person,

son, I was of opinion, that as well for that Reason, as because in his Life-time he entertain'd an extraordinary Affection and Esteem for You, Your Name should in like manner be inscrib'd on this Monument which he has left of Himself to Posterity. The Justice of the thing, and the Sincerity of my Intentions, must be all my Apology to Your Grace for this Presumption: for the Public (of whom You deserv'd so well, and particularly in appearing early, like Your Noble Ancestors, for the Liberty of these Nations) will acknowledge it an Obligation; nor,

if any thing should chance to
 be amiss, can I doubt but an
 easy Pardon will be granted to
 one who is, tho unknown,
 my Lord, with so profound
 a Respect, Your Grace's most
 humble Servant,

March 28.

1699.

T H E

THE
PUBLISHER
TO THE
READER.

Such as really desire to know the naked Truth, and propose for their chiefest aim the common good (which are certainly the best, tho not the greatest part of Mankind) have ever exprest a desire in their Writings of seeing the Memoirs of all parties made public, as the most effectual means of framing a true General History: For in those places where nothing is licens'd to appear but what visibly tends to the advantage of one side, there can be no sincere representation of Affairs, the basest Cowards must pass for the bravest Heroes, the worst of Villains for the greatest Saints, the most

Ignorant and Vicious for Men of Learning and Virtue, and the Enemies of their Country for its Preservers and Eriends. Without consulting therefore the particular Interest or reputation of any Faction, but only the benefit of England in general, these Memoirs of the Great Lord Holmes are communicated to the World, that by comparing them with those of Ludlow, and such as appear'd before, or will be publish'd hereafter relating to the same times, they may afford mutual Light to each other; and, after distinguishing the personal resentments or privat biasses of every one of 'em, the Truth wherein they are all found to agree (tho dress'd by them in different Garbs) may by som impartial and skilful hand be related with more candor, clearness, and uniformity. What figure our Author made in the Parliament and in the Wars, at home and abroad, in his privat and public Capacities, is generally known, and needs not therefore be mention'd in this place. The account he gives of himself in the following

To the Reader. xi

lowing Papers is confirm'd by many living Witnesses, as well as in the greatest part by other Writers of the same Transactions. But whether the vehemence of his Stile, the barbarous Usage he receiv'd, his concern for the Presbyterian Party, and his Displeasure at the King's misfortunes (to whom he was then an adherent and a friend) have not guided his Pencil to draw the lines of Cromwel's Face too strong, and the shadows too many, I refer to the judgment of the disinterested Reader, desiring him to allow all that is reasonably due to one in these or the like Circumstances. This caution Justice has oblig'd me to insert! For as to that tyrannical Usurper of the Supreme Administration, who prov'd so ungrateful to the Commonwealth, so treacherous to the King, and so fatal to both, I think him bad enough painted in his own true Colours, without standing in need of exaggerating Rhetoric to make him look more odious or deform'd. I should write something here likewise with relation

to

xii The Publisher, &c.

to General Fairfax, but that the properest place for it seems to be in a Preface to his own MEMORIAL, which is in good bands, and, it's hop'd, may be shortly expos'd to public view. How far soever King Charles the First's Enemies in England may look on themselves disoblig'd, or any of his Friends neglected by my Lord Holles, the Scots are surely beholding to him; for in his long Panegyric on that Nation, he has said more in their behalf, than their own Historians have ever been able to offer. But in this and other matters of the like nature we shall not anticipate the Readers Curiosity or Judgment: I shall therefore only acquaint him, that tho' this Piece be entitul'd Memorials from the History it contains, yet in substance it is an Apology for that Party who took up Arms, not to destroy the King, or alter the Constitution, but to restore the last, and oblige the former to rule according to Law.

To the Unparallel'd Couple,
Mr. Oliver St. John his
Majesty's Solicitor Gene-
ral, and Mr. Oliver Cromwel
the Parliament's Lieutenant
General, the two grand De-
signers of the Ruin of three
Kingdoms.

GENTLEMEN,

AS You have been principal
in ministring the matter
of this Discourse, and gi-
ving me the leisure of making it,
by banishing me from my Coun-
try and Business, so is it reason
I should particularly address it to
You. You will find in it some
representation of the grosser Lines
of your Features, those outward
and notorious Enormities that make
You

You remarkable, and Your Pictures
easie to be known ; which cannot
be expected here so fully to the
Life as I could wish. He only
can do that, whose Eye and Hand
have been with You in Your se-
cret Counsels, who has seen You
at Your Meetings, Your Sabbaths,
where You have laid by Your as-
sumed Shapes (with which You
cozen'd the World) and resumed
Your own ; imparting each to o-
ther, and both of You to Your
fellow Witches, the bottom of Your
Designs, the policy of Your Act-
ings, the turns of Your Contrivan-
ces, all Your Falshoods, Cozen-
ings, Villanies, and Cruelties, with
Your full intentions to ruin the three
Kingdoms. All I will say to You
is no more than what St. Peter
said to Simon the Sorcerer, *Repent
therefore of this Your wickedness,* and
pray God, if perhaps the thoughts of

Your

Epistle Dedicatory. xv

Your Hearts may be forgiven You. And if You have not Grace to pray for Your selves (as it may be You have not) I have the Charity to do it for You, but not Faith enough to trust You. So I remain, I thank God, not in Your Power, and as little at Your Service.

Denzil Holles:

At St. Marys Egide in Nor-
mandy the 14th of Fe-
bruary, 1648. S. V.

MEMOIRS

Epistle Dedicatory.

xv
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Wm. H. Hollis

ERRATA

Page 1. line 11. read *Crucifix*. B. 50. L. 11. r. *Crucifix*.
 P. 43. L. 27. r. *publish*. B. 82. L. 7. *dele Commas*.
 L. 4. r. *May*. B. 96. L. 15. *dele*. B. 100. L. 15.
 r. *dele*. B. 161. L. 8. *dele*.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF
DENZIL Lord Hollis.

THE wisest of Men saw it to be a great Evil, that Servants should ride on Horses; and Princes walk as Servants on the Earth: An Evil now both seen and felt in our unhappy Kingdom. The meanest of Men, the basest and vilest of the Nation, the lowest of the People have got the Power into their Hands; trampled upon the Crown; baffled and misused the Parliament; violated the Laws; destroyed or suppressed the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom; oppressed the Liberties of the People in general; broke in sunder all Bonds and Tyers of Religion, Conscience, Duty, Loyalty, Faith, common Honesty, and good Manners; cast off all fear of God and Man; and now lord it over the Persons and Estates of all sorts and ranks of Men from the King on his Throne, to the Beggar in his Cottage:

making their Will their Law ; their Power their Rule ; their hairbrain'd giddy phantastical humour, and the setting up of a *Babel* of Confusion, the end of all their Actions. But how this misery is befallen us, the Kingdom brought so low, and so unworthily, unhappily, inconsiderately deliver'd over into such base and ignoble hands, the Parliament abused, betrayed, and now become in show and in name the Instrument of their Tyranny, but in truth it self made nothing ; and (if the presence of the right Speaker be so essential to the being and acting of a Parliament, and so necessary, that Sir *Edward Cook* says in his *Institutes* the House cannot sit without him) then is there clearly at this present no Parliament but an Assembly of Men, acted and moved by the Art and Malice of some few sitting among them, by the means of an Army, which those few, those Vipers of the Parliament, that have eaten out the Bowels of their Parent and destroyed her, raised (that is, abused the Parliament, making them raise it) under colour of necessity for the preservation of the Parliament and Kingdom ; when in truth it was out of a design to make themselves Masters of both, that neither of them might ever enjoy Peace and Liberty more, to blast our Hopes, nip all the fair Blossoms of
Re-

Reformation, dash in sunder all our preparations and endeavours for the establishing of a happy Peace; and so a glorious promising Morning became a Day of darkness, a Day of treading down and perplexity: this, I say, will be worth the enquiry, and perhaps be no difficult thing to discover, and make so plain, that he who runs may read.

2. Yet I would not be conceived to attribute so much of Wisdom and Foresight to these Men, as to believe they had laid this whole Design, with the several Circumstances and Steps of proceeding from the beginning; which not the Devil himself was so politick and foreknowing as to have done. But I am perswaded that they had it in their general Aim, and laid it as a foundation for all their Superstructures, to do as much mischief as they could, make the Disorder as great, the Change as universal as was possible, and still to improve all opportunities, and occasions *ex re nata*, putting on for more as they prevailed in any thing, till at last even beyond what either they could hope, or we could fear, their Design was brought to this perfection, as will appear by the sequel of this Discourse.

3. When in the beginning of this Parliament, in the Year 1642. after some progress in a Parliamentary way to the relieving

lieying of many of our Grievances, and reforming many Abuses both in Church and State (for which we were not sufficiently thankful) it pleased God, in his just Judgment, for the punishment of our Sins, to send a Spirit of Division between the King and the Parliament, and things grew to that height, as both of them appealed to the Sword to plead their Cause, and decide their Quarrel; the Members of Parliament, who then engaged, declared themselves to desire nothing but the settlement of the Kingdom, in the honour and greatness of the King, and in the happiness and safety of the People: And whensoever that could be obtained, to lay down the Sword, and submit again to the King's Scepter of Peace more willingly than ever they resisted his Force and Power. This I am sure was the ultimate end of many, I may say, of the chiefest of those who at that time appeared: upon which principle they first moved, and from which they never departed; which made them at that time resolve to put their Lives into their hands, and offer them a Sacrifice to the welfare and happiness of their Prince and Country. I say Prince as well as Country, tho he perhaps look'd on them as his greatest Enemies; but they consider'd him as their Prince, whom Nature, Duty, the Command

mand of God, and the Laws of Men, obliged them to reverence, and to love as the Head and Father of the People; whose greatness consisted in his People's, and his People's in his; and therefore neither could be great, nor happy, one without the other, which made those faithful ones put them both in the same Ballance, and rather adventure his displeasure by promoting the publick Cause, than (as they thought) his ruin by deserting it.

4. Whilst these Men acted in the simplicity of their Hearts, there was another Generation of Men, which, like the frozen Snake that lay in their Bosoms, seemed to desire but the same things with them, and that the same should have contented them, when it was nothing so; but they had further Designs, to destroy and cut off not a few, to make the Land an *Aceldama*, ruin the King, and as many of the Nobility and Gentry as they could, alter the Government, have no order in the Church, nor power in the State over them. This was the Venom they harbour'd, which at first they were not warm enough to put forth: But it soon appeared by some evident Symptoms, which discovered it to discerning Eyes, though many were very long abused. For as the Devil can transform himself into an Angel of Light; so they pretended

tended Zeal in Religion, and to be publick Spirits, as if none were so holy and self-denying as they: and so insinuated themselves into the good Opinion of Men; and, being bold and forward, got into all Employments, engrossed the whole managing of the War (that is, the directive part of it, not the fighting) whilst others, who meant plainly, and honestly, went into their several Countries, desirous to see the business soon at an end; and, either by shewing the Sword, to have kept it in on both sides, or else, if God had otherwise determin'd that some Blood must be drawn, to adventure their own for speedy stopping the issue of it in the Kingdom.

5. This was the first step of those unworthy Mens getting into power. When other Gentlemen of the House of Commons unluckily left it upon these occasions, they then undertook the business, put themselves and their Creatures into all Committees, persons most of them before only known by their Faces, and esteemed for their Silence and Modesty. But they soon grew Bold and Impudent, domineering not only over the rest of the House, but much more over others abroad, and by their Pride and Insolency contracting Envy and Hatred to the Parliament.

6. By this means they had power over all the Money of the Kingdom, pleased and recompensed whom they would, which were none, be sure, but their Creatures, or such as would be theirs; and so made many Profelytes both within doors and without, increasing their Party exceedingly, which made them carry the business of the House as they would themselves: and made it easie to them, in all Debates concerning applications for Peace, to drive us to extremities, demanding unreasonable things, laying upon the King the Conditions of *Nassau*, to thrust out his right Eye for a reproach; or, as the Devil did to our Saviour, to have him fall down and worship them, lay his Honour at their Feet, his Life at their Mercy; while they, upon all occasions, revile and reproach him, give countenance and encouragement to all the bitter, scurrilous and unseemly Expressions against him, impeach the Queen, give her the usage (both in words and actions) one would not have done to the meanest Handmaid of the Kingdom, tho the Wife, Daughter, and Sister of a King, the Mother of our Prince, who is to sit upon the Throne, if these Men hinder him not, and all this, to make the distance wide, the wound deep, that there might be no closing, no binding up. Then was there

nothing but expelling Members out of the House on the least information. If any of those Whelps did but bark against any one, and could but say he was busie in the Country, nothing but sequestring, impeaching of Treason, turning Men and their Families, turning Wife and Children to starve: so many Committees and Sub-Committees of Examinations, Sequestrations, fifth and twentieth part, &c. made in City and Country, and some of the most factious, busy, beggarly men put in, as fittest Tools for such Masters to work by, to rake Men to the Bones, and take all advantages to ruin them.

7. This was a great breaking of heart to all honest Men, especially to those in the House, who being present and Eye-witnesses of the management of Affairs, easily discovered the drift of these persons, and opposed it all they could: which made those Blood-suckers conceive a mortal hatred against them, and in truth against all *Gentlemen*, as those who had too great an interest, and too large a stake of their own in the Kingdom, to ingage with them in their Design of perpetuating the War to an absolute confusion.

8. This made them look with a jealous Eye upon my Lord of *Essex*, who was General of the Army, finding him not fit for
their

their turn, as too desirous of Peace, and of maintaining Monarchy; and therefore they resolve to lay him aside, beginning to draw Supplies from him, neither providing Recruits, nor furnishing him with Money or Arms (except sometimes for a pinch, when the necessity of their own preservation required it) clogging him all they could, countenancing and supporting who ever did oppose him: In the mean time carrying on the business of the House in a wild madness, making Ordinances, like *Draco's* Laws, written in Blood, that no Man could be safe whom they had a mind to destroy, and their mind was to destroy all they could, by making so many desperate, to render things more irreconcilable, and cut off all hopes of Peace, which they were resolved to put by upon any terms, *per fas aut nefas*, if not by art and cunning, rather to use force than fail, and where the Fox's Skin would not reach, to take the Lion's; as to give one Instance for all.

1649. The House of Lords in the Summer after the beginning of our Troubles in 1643, having resolv'd to deliver themselves and the Kingdom from this *Egyptian* Slavery, had prepared a Message to the King, with Overtures for an Accommodation, and sent it down to the House of Commons on a Saturday, where the major part seem'd to be

be of the same mind, and after a long dispute and much opposition prevail'd to take it into consideration, made an entrance into it, agreed to some particulars, and it growing late, adjourned the further debate till Monday morning; against which time these Firebrands had set the City in a flame, as if there were a resolution to betray all to the King; and thereupon brought down a Rabble of their party, some thousands to the House of Commons door, who gave out threatening Speeches, and named among themselves (but so as they might be heard) some Members of the House, whom they said they lookt upon as Enemies, and would pull out of the House; which did so terrifie many honest timorous Men, and gave that boldness to the others, as contrary to all order they resumed the Question that was settled on Saturday for going on with the business, and at last carried it by some Voices to have it laid aside: which was the highest strain of Insolency, the greatest violation of the Authority and Freedom (the two essential Ingredients) of a Parliament that before that time was ever known. Since, I confess, the Army has far outstrip'd it.

10. This made some persons cast about how a stop might be given to such violent proceedings, and to have other Counsels ad-

admitted, which probably would give some allay to those sharp and implacable Spirits : It appearing to be altogether impossible ever to obtain a Peace, whilst they were Rulers, who *Phaeton* like, were able to set the whole World on fire. It was therefore proposed that our Brethren of *Scotland* might be called in, who were known to be a wise People, lovers of Order, firm to Monarchy : who had twice before gone through the misfortune of taking up Arms, and wisely had laid them down ; still contenting themselves with that which was necessary for their security, avoiding extremities. Their wisdom and moderation, as was presumed, might then have delivered us from that precipice of misery and confusion, into which our Charioteers were hurrying us amain.

11. But these Men would none of it at that time ; they hoped to be able to carry on the Work themselves, and meant to divide all the Spoil : which they had done if it had not pleased God to give them that check in the West, when their Army there was beaten through Sir *Arthur Haslerig's* default, one of their invincible Champions. First, his ignorant foolhardiness, afterwards his baseness and cowardise, who then found himself to be mortal (for before he thought himself invincible, and absolutely

lutely Stick-free and Shot-free, having had the good Fortune to be in a gallant Regiment, under Sir *William Balfore*, at *Kensington-Field*, and so not to run away) but, as himself did afterwards relate it, wink and strike, and bear down all before him. This made him so absolute a Souldier, as he thought Christendom had not his fellow, and therefore would not be govern'd by his Commander in chief, in that Western Brigade, a gallant and discreet Gentleman; but would charge contrary to order, without sense or reason: and, finding that resistance which he did not expect, ran away as basely with all the Horse, leaving the Foot engaged. Presently afterwards the Town of *Bristol* was lost by the like Gallantry and good Soldiery of another of their Champions, who for it was condemned to die by a Council of War, and pardoned by my Lord of *Essex*, who was well requited for it afterwards both by this Gentleman and his Father.

12. Then our Masters, finding themselves to be mortal too, began to be afraid; and now the *Scots* must be called in. So in all haste they send to them to come and help, with open Cry, *Save us, or we perish.* They promise any thing, offer any thing, do any thing for the present that the *Scots* would have them do: The Honour of *England*

land not thought of, Liberty of Conscience and the godly Party not mentioned : But all that was heard was the Covenant, Uniformity in Church-Government, uniting the Nations, never to make Peace without them, and a solemn Treaty for all this closed there, and presently ratified by the Parliament here.

13. But they meant afterwards to be even with them, to perform nothing of what was *de futuro* to be done, to serve their turns by them, to make them instrumental for their deliverance at that plunge, and then pick quarrels with them and send them home again with scorn and discontent, which they have since sufficiently laboured to do, and went far towards it, and to the engaging of the two Kingdoms in Blood ; if some persons had not interposed with more ingenuous and more moderate Counsels, to the happy success of whose Endeavours the piety, honesty, and moderation of the *Scots* themselves did very much contribute, concurring with them, and cooperating in all things which might promote a Peace, as shall be afterwards shewed in its due place : for this is but by the way.

14. Those Creatures of theirs whom they sent Commissioners into *Scotland* for that
bu-

business, represented the state of Affairs to that Parliament clear otherwise than it was, endearing their own Party to them as the only sincere publick spirited Men, who desired such a Reformation as was agreeable to their Government, and such a Peace as might be a joint safety and security to both Kingdoms, giving Characters of all others as Malignants, ill affected, averse to the Scottish Nation, opposers of a good understanding between the Kingdoms, and of their mutual assistance of each other.

15. With which prejudice of us the Scots were strongly possessed, at their coming in about *January*, 1643. and were in *England* some time before they were disabused. They were first made believe nothing should be done without them, or their advice and consent. To that purpose a Committee of the two Kingdoms must be appointed for uniting the Councils, to order and direct the prosecution of the War, and for communicating and transacting all Affairs between the Kingdoms: In packing whereof, and keeping out some persons whom our Masters did disaffect, they used such juggling, as never was heard of before in Parliament, and none but such *Hocum-pocum's* could have the Face to have done.

16. Well,

16. Well, they carried it, and to work they go, bearing it very fair to the *Scots*, till they were got aloft again, and that with their help they had recovered and cleared the North, obtained that great Victory at *Marston-Moor*, in July 1644, which without them they had never done. And however Lieutenant General *Cromwel* had the impudence and boldness to assume much of the honour of it to himself, or rather, *Herod* like, to suffer others to magnifie him and adore him for it (for I can scarce believe he should be so impudent to give it out himself, so conscious as he must be of his own base cowardliness) those who did the principal Service that day, were Major General *Lesley*, who commanded the Scots Horse, Major General *Crawford* who was Major General to the Earl of *Manchester*'s Brigade, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who, under his Father, commanded the Northern Brigade. But my friend *Cromwel* had neither part nor lot in the business: For I have several times heard it from *Crawford*'s own mouth (and I think I shall not be mistaken if I say *Cromwel* himself has heard it from him; for he once said it aloud in *Westminster-Hall*, when *Cromwel* past by him, with a design he might hear him) that when the whole Army at *Marston-Moor* was in a fair possibility to be utterly

terly routed, and a great part of it running, he saw the Body of Horse of that Brigade standing still, and to his seeming doubtful which way to charge, backward or forward, when he came up to them in a great passion, reviling them with the name of Poltroons and Cowards, and asked them if they would stand still and see the Day lost? Whereupon *Cromwel* shewed himself, and in a pitiful Voice said, Major General, what shall I do? he (begging pardon for what he said, not knowing he was there, towards whom he knew his distance as to his Superiour Officer) told him, Sir, if you charge not all is lost; *Cromwel* answered, he was wounded, and was not able to charge (his great wound being a little burn in the Neck by the accidental going off behind him of one of his Soldiers Pistols) then *Crawford* desired him to go off the Field, and sending one away with him (who very readily followed wholesom advice) led them on himself, which was not the duty of his Place, and as little for *Cromwel's* Honor, as it proved to be much for the advancement of his and his Parties pernicious Designs. This I have but by relation, yet I easily believe it upon the Credit of the Reporter, who was a Man of Honor, that was not ashamed nor afraid to publish it in
all

all places. Besides, I have heard a parallel Story of his Valour from another person (Colonel *Dalbier*) not inferiour, neither in quality nor reputation, to Major General *Crawford*, who told me, That when *Basing-House* was storm'd, *Cromwel*, instead of leading on his Men, stood a good distance off, out of Gun-shot behind a Hedg. And something I can deliver of him upon my own knowledg, which makes passage for the easier belief of both these Relations, and assures me that that Man is as errand a Coward, as he is notoriously perfidious, ambitious, and hypocritical. This was his base keeping out of the Field at *Keinton* Battel; where he with his Troop of Horse came not in, impudently and ridiculously affirming, the day after, That he had been all that day seeking the Army and place of Fight, tho his Quarters were but at a Village near hand, whence he could not find his way, nor be directed by his Ear, when the Ordnance was heard, as I have been credibly informed, 20 or 30 Miles off; so that certainly he is far from the Man he is taken for.

17. That day's work at *Marston-Moor* turned the Scales, and raised again the fortune of the Parliament, which till that day had very much declined: And these Men (who all this while stalked under the

sides of the Parliament, and did but pretend the business of Reformation, and the Peoples Liberties, thereby to break the power of the King first, that afterwards they might, either by artifice or force, lay as low the Authority of Parliament, unless it would betray its truth, and yield to be instrumental to them) did, after this, begin to put out their Horns, appear in their Colours, and, as they warmed more and more, to spit out their Venom against Monarchy, against Nobility and Gentry, against that Reformation with which they had formerly held forth to the *Scots*, against the very Covenant, their Vows and Declarations wherewith they had abused God and the World.

18. Then did *Cromwel* declare himself to the Lord of *Manchester*, and indeed reveal'd the whole Design. First, His rancor against the *Scots*, as that he would as soon draw his Sword against them as against any of the King's Party. Then his hatred of the Nobility and House of Peers, wishing there was never a Lord in *England*, and saying, he loved such and such because they loved not Lords, and that it would not be well till he was but *Mr. Montague*. Thirdly, His intentions to hinder Peace, and that therefore he desired none to be of that Army, but such as were of the Independent judg-

judgment, to interpose if a Peace were like to be made which agreed not with their humours. All this remains upon Record in both Houses, being the Earl of *Manchester's* Charge against him. And let any one judge if this be not the very Plot which was then laid and since practised. Has not every particular been attempted by them? have they not fully compleated that which was chiefly aimed at? As that which will, and must certainly (if not prevented) bring on all the rest the hindering of Peace, that no ease nor quietness might be restored to the Kingdom. For when the Parliament was ready to disband the only Army then left, and so to free the Subject from all Payments and Taxes, that every one might return to his Vocation, and all differences between King and Parliament might be ended and reconciled in a parliamentary way; then did the *Cadmean* Brood turn their Swords against their fellow Subjects, and their Masters the Parliament, which by open force they assault, make void, and unvote what they had voted concerning their Disbanding, put by all thoughts of Peace, and throw back the Kingdom, which was entring into the desired Haven of Peace and Happiness, into the deep Seas of Storms and Misery and Confusion, where I beseech God it perish not: But of all this anon.

19. Things were not yet ripe; tho the Serpent's Eggs were laid by him in the Earl of *Manchester's* bosom, it was not time to hatch the Cockatrice. Therefore when it was by the Earl made known to the Houses, their Party in the House of Commons did (*more solito*) with all the violence and injustice in the world smother and suppress it, quarrelling that the Lords had infring'd their Privileges, in desiring that might be examined by a Committee in both Houses, saying, The Lords ought not to meddle in it, because it concern'd a Commoner; whereas nothing was more ordinary throughout the whole proceeding of this Parliament in all their inquisitions. Yet by that means this was then stifled, the breach of Privilege refer'd to a Committee of the House of Commons, and there the business died.

20. After this the *Scots* saw how they were cheated, and it came to be, though not an open breach, yet a great coldness between them, a withdrawing of confidence, of familiarity, of Counsels. And the *Scots* then found that the other party had been misrepresented, being the Men who, in truth, did agree with them in Principles and in Design: Which was only to reform, not to alter; to regulate, and so to save, not to destroy. That they still carried about with them the sense of their Allegiance

ance and Duty to the person of the King, whom they did desire to see reinvested into his Throne and Kingly Government, with such a power, and in such a way, as might be good both for Him and the People, that thereby confusion, misery, and that disorder which the Poet describes to have been in the first Chaos, and which we now see (not in a Fiction, but really feel and smart under) might be avoided.

21. By little and little the *Scots* and these latter came to a better understanding; at last they discover the horrid Practices and the whole Design of the others, who, in the mean time, drove it on, *Jehu* like, violently bearing down, and destroying all that opposed them; for some opposition they found. They saw there was a strong Party in the House against them, between whom and the Soldiers who were under Command of my Lord of *Essex*, there was a good Correspondency; and these two, together with the *Scots*, were as a threefold Cord not to be broken by them: therefore they would untwist it, and so destroy them one after another.

22. The Earl of *Essex* must be the first who they found would not bow, and therefore must break; for many applications had been made to see if he would stoop to their Lure. Great offers, large promises, all the

glory of the Kingdom should be his, if he would but worship them, be (as they termed it) true to the Godly Party: but he was true to his Principles. Therefore they do what they can to make him odious, not paying his Army, to make it a Burden to the Country, and infamous; not giving him means of acting by Supplies and Provisions, so to be looked upon as a Drone or worse, or putting him upon such Actions as should break him, so to make him come off with dishonour.

23. As when he was about *Oxford* in the Summer 1644, he on one side of the River, and Sir *William Waller* with his Brigade on the other; the King having then but a small force within the Town, and either not provided for a Siege, or not willing to be shut in with a light body of Horse, and I think some mounted Men, held them play and distracted them, being sometimes on the one side, sometimes on the other; which was easie for him to do, going through the Town, as he saw occasion, by the conveniency of the Gates: It being then known that he waited but his opportunity and advantage to slip by, or break through, our Grand Masters ordered my Lord of *Essex*, with a heavy body of an Army and a great train of Artillery, to attend his Majesties motion, and Sir *William Waller* to go
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into the West, which they conceived would be an easie Task at that time to reduce the King's Party brought low; and so not able to send any Forces into those parts for their relief and encouragement.

24. This they knew would absolutely break my Lord of *Essex*, who must harass his Army to follow a light and moving Body; and if the King, which was probable enough, should chance to give him the slip, and get from him into the West, then was he ruin'd in his Reputation, and liable to a Question, and perhaps a further Prosecution. It proved that his Majesty did get by them, and passed by Sir *William Waller's* Quarters on the other side, who, as soon as he knew it, marched after him, and gave notice to my Lord of *Essex* thereof; so as before he knew any thing, Sir *William Waller* was got a days march before after the King. Then was it impossible for him to overtake them; and, being so much nearer the West, Sir *William Waller* engaged in the other Service, he, upon the Advice of his Council of War, resolved to bend that way, yet not to make such speed, but that he should receive other Orders from our Governors above, that he might comply with them. Accordingly he gave that Account to the Parliament and Committee of the two Kingdoms, with his desire of their Directions.

They were so mad to see themselves defeated of their Plot, that they would not for many days return him any answer at all ; his disobedience was blown up, and trumpeted about by them and their Agents : Some of whom did not stick to say, It were better my Lord of *Essex* and his whole Army were lost and ruined, than the Parliament not obeyed, and, that by their consents, he nor his Army should be look'd after or cared for more : A Maxim they have forgotten now in the case of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and his Army's, not Disobedience but open Rebellion ; but they were as good as their words then, and did most maliciously, wilfully, and treacherously (as to the Parliaments Cause, which they seemed to be zealous in) suffer General and Army to be lost, and the whole West left further out of the Parliaments reach than before.

25. Sir *Arthur Haslerig* posted up to *London*, breathing out nothing but ruin and destruction to the Earl of *Essex*, spoke it out in the hearing of several persons, That he would ruin him, or be ruined himself. His malice and violence was so great at the Committee of the two Kingdoms, where he and his Party were prevalent, that a report was thence brought down to the House of Commons, by which Sir *William Waller* was taken off from following the King, and
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by that means the King was left at liberty to bend his whole force for the West after my Lord of *Essex*, which he presently did. At last they left my Lord of *Essex* at liberty to proceed in that Western Expedition, but with a resolution to let him perish. He takes in *Weymouth* and some other Towns, goes on as far as *Cornwal*, whither the King's Forces follow him at the heels, cut off all provision from him, press upon him exceedingly, and put him to very great streights. He engaged in a Country inclosed with deep Ditches and strong Fences, that he could neither break through, nor march away; but sends Letter upon Letter, Messenger upon Messenger to the Parliament, representing his Condition, and how easie it was with a small force sent upon the back of the King's Army, if but only a good Party of Horse, to stop their Provisions, and turn the Tables, streighten them and free him, than which certainly nothing had been more easie, and would have saved the Kingdom a Mass of Treasure, and thousands of good Mens lives, which the continuance of the War after that time did cost.

26. But our Masters did not desire then to see the War at an end; they had not the Sword in those hands they would have it for to break the King's forces, well knowing

ing they must then have had a Peace, and such a Peace as had carried with it an establishment of the King's Government, a keeping up the Nobility and Gentry; all things must have returned into their proper Channel, and (the security of the Parliament and Kingdom being provided for) the Law of the Land must have taken place, their Arbitrary Empire been at an end, and their Design wholly defeated.

27. Therefore my Lord of *Essex* must not be relieved, but sacrificed to their Ambition, the King's Army must be yet preserved, to give them a colour to new model theirs, and put the Power into the base hands of their Creatures which should keep the Kingdom in a perpetual Bondage; and tho they ended the War with the King, yet never made Peace, but continued to grind the Faces and break the Backs of the People with Taxes and Free-Quarter, to maintain an Army when no Enemy was left; in a word, they govern by the Sword, the height of all Misery and Slavery that any Land can undergo.

28. My Lord of *Essex* and his Army were by this means broken in *Cornwal* in the latter end of that Summer, and the King seemed to gain a great Advantage; recover a great deal of Strength; but to nip that, they soon provided Force sufficient, it suiting

ing with their Ends, that his Majesty should seem strong, but not be so. Therefore the Soldiers of that Army which had lost their Arms in *Cornwal* are presently armed again, and two other Armies joined to them, the Earl of *Manchester's* and Sir *W. Waller's*, who gave the King's Forces a ruffle at *Dennington*, gaining some of the Works: Yet, when the King came with the remainder of his Strength, they did not think it convenient to put it to the trial of a Day, but suffered him to march away, when it had been a most easie thing to have prevented it: And even there, in all likelihood, have made an end of the business, which was that they feared; and Sir *Arthur Haslerig* could come up to *London*, and into the House of Commons, all in beaten Buff, cross girt with Sword and Pistols as if he had been killing his thousands, when 'tis more probable, if there was any danger, that he had been crying under a Hedg, as he did at *Cherrington* Fight, bellowing out, *Ah wo is me, all is lost! we are all undone!* insomuch that a great Officer, a Scotch-man, finding him in that tune, wished him to go off the Field, and not stand *gudding* there (a Scotch term for crying) to dishearten the Soldiers: but in the House of Commons he feared nothing, none so fierce and valiant, without fear or wit; and there, like a great Soldier in that habit, gave a Relation of
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what had pass'd, highly extolling the gallantry and conduct of all the Commanders, the valour of the Soldiers, that no mortal Men could do more, that the best Soldiers in the world could not have hinder'd the King's marching off, and that it had been no wisdom to have adventur'd to fight, for that the King would be King still, and would soon have had another Army, tho they had gotten the better, but if he had beaten them, they had been utterly lost. This served the turn for that time, to cast a mist before the peoples eyes, and stop their mouths. Yet within very few Weeks after, this worthy Knight forgot all he had said: for it is by *Cromwel* laid as a Crime to the Earl of *Manchester's* Charge (whom they then meant to lay aside) that he was the cause they fought not with the King, and Sir *Arthur* is a principal Witness to make it good. But on the other side, the Earl of *Manchester* returns the Bill, charging *Cromwel*, that it was his not obeying Orders, who being commanded as Lieutenant General of the Horse, to be ready at such a place by such an hour early in the Morning, came not till the Afternoon, and by many particulars makes it clear to have been only his fault.

29. And to say the truth, they could not else have carried on their Design of new modelling

delling their Army, of which then there had been no need, and preventing a Peace which they feared might else have followed. For if the King had been too fore prest at that time, it was in their apprehensions probably he might have laid hold upon the Propositions for Peace, which were then ready, and sent to him to *Oxford* immediately after.

30. Therefore now they set upon their great Work, projected long before, and which *Cromwel* had broken to my Lord of *Manchester* in the time of his greatness with him, when he thought him to be one of their own, that was to have an Army composed of those of the Independent Judgment, to interpose if there were like to be a Peace; only their Presumption and Impudence was swell'd to be so much higher, as now, they would have no other Army but of them. Because they saw the danger was over; there being no Enemy to take the Field against them, but such an one as they had willingly set up and given time and means to get together: so as there would be no great need of fighting, that part having been acted by others; for they were never good at it, but excellent to assume the praise and reap the benefit, when others had done the work.

31. There-

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31. There-

31. Therefore the whole force of the Kingdom must be theirs, in the hands of their Creatures; all the Noblemen and Gentlemen who had engaged in the beginning, and born the heat of the day, must be laid by, all these gallant Officers who had done the Parliament the best Service, indeed all, must be cashier'd : The Earl of *Essex*, the Earl of *Manchester*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Waller*, and the rest must be reduced, cast by as old Almanacks, in truth not fitted to their Meridian.

32. For this Feat the Juggle of a Self-denying Ordinance is found out; whereby it is ordained, that no Member of either House shall bear any Office Martial or Civil; which strikes them all out of Employment and *Cromwel* too, but for him they will soon find a Starting-hole.

33. Then there must be one body of an Army composed of so many thousand Horse and Foot out of the several Armies, which were to be reduced (as I remember some 20 or 21 thousand, which number they have since doubled or trebled for the ease of the Kingdom) the Officers to be named by the House, and a Committee appointed under the specious name of a Committee of Reformation for this Work, by which they tear in sunder all their Forces, discontent all their best Officers and Soldiers, utterly dis-
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joynt the whole Frame of the Martial part of their Affairs, and, I dare say, put the King's Party in greater hopes of being able to make it good by the Sword, and less to apprehend the Consequence of not making a Peace at that time, than the gaining of a Battel would have done: nor in truth could it have any other Operation with rational Men.

24. So to work they go, and find difficulties enough. The Soldiers bore an affection to their old Officers, which made them unwilling to be reduced: Money there was not to give any reasonable satisfaction out of their Arrears to those who were to be cashier'd: But a fortnights pay was ordered, where many months were owing. Yet such was the obedience of those Officers (gallant Men, old Soldiers most of them) to the authority of Parliament (so unlike to the late rebellious Carriage and Insolency of our new Model, as shall be hereafter shewed) that they submit to it, are content to sit down themselves, and (which is more) use their interest to perswade the Soldiers to a Conformity. Some of the Horse who had served under my Lord of *Essex* were a little stiff, and made some shew of standing out in *Hertsfordshire*, which our violent bloody new Modellers would have made advantage of presently to have slain on them,

them, and put them to the Sword ; but the Parliament followed more moderate Counsels, endeavouring to gain them through fair means, by sending down some of their old Officers to dispose them to a submission, which employment they declined not, but went and prevailed : to which my Lord of *Essex* himself contributed very much, an Example that this present young General *Sir Thomas Fairfax* would not follow when his Army was to be disbanded.

35. Yet such was the wickedness and desperate madness of those Men, who thirsted after nothing but blood, mischief and confusion, that at the very same time when the Parliament was going a gentle way, Mr. *St. John* the King's Solicitor (one who I think has as much of the Blood of this Kingdom to answer for, and has dipp'd as deep in all cunning pernicious Counsels, as any one man alive) wrote a Letter under-hand to the Committee of *Hertsfordshire* (which is yet extant) that they should raise the Country and fall upon these men, to put all into blood, contrary to the desire and endeavour of the Parliament. A Villany never to be forgotten nor forgiven in any man, much less a Man of Law, who should better know what price the Law sets upon the life of every Subject, much more of many together, and of a whole County, which, if
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he had been obeyed, had run a great hazard.

36. But I wonder not at this or any other such passage from him, who could have the face to say in his Argument against my Lord of *Strafford*, That some persons were not to have Law given them, but be knockt on the head, no matter how; tho he knows it, or should know it, to be against the Laws both of God and Man, that any should be put to death before a legal Conviction, however he may have practised the contrary since the beginning of these unhappy troubles: his composition being, it seems, like that Monster Emperor's *Lutum Sanguine maceratum*. And to less than an Emperor I would not parallel him; whose vast thoughts have carried him above King and Parliament, to frame, new mould, alter, and destroy as he thinks good. This mixture in his nature makes his actings so fierce and cruel. I appeal to all who have seen and observ'd him this whole Parliament, if, on all occasions, his Opinion did not still conclude *in severiorem partem*; if he ever stopt where there was any way to it before he came to blood, or to the destruction of Estate and Fortune: But let him pass.

37. To return to our business: Those Soldiers were by these means perswaded,

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and the new Army framed, Colonels and other new Officers appointed, and for a Commander in chief Sir *Thomas Fairfax* is found out; one, as Sir *Arthur Haslerig* said, as if he had been hew'd out of the Block for them, fit for their turns to do whatever they will have him, without considering or being able to judg whether honourable or honest. In the passing his Commission they made the first plain discovery of their Intentions concerning the Person of the King: for with a great deal of violence and earnestness they prest it, and carried it, that the care of the preservation of his Person should be left out, and that this Army should go out in the name of the Parliament alone, and not of King and Parliament, as it was before under my Lord of *Essex*, who otherwise would not have medled with it. But this General made no Bones, took it, and thanked them, resolved (as it seems) to do whatsoever those his Masters should bid him: for I'm sure he has, at their command, led his Army since against the Parliament, which he seemed to adore above all things upon Earth.

38. The next work was how again to get in my friend *Cromwel*; for he was to have the power, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* only the name of General; he to be the Figure, the other the Cypher. This was so gross
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and diametrically against the letter of the Self-denying Ordinance, that it put them to some trouble how to bring it about. For this *Cromwel*'s Soldiers, forsooth, must mutiny, and say they will have their *Cromwel* or they will not stir. Hereupon he must be sent down; no word then of cutting or hewing, or of forcing them to a submission, as in the case of the Earl of *Essex*'s Soldiers; but they must have their wills. Yet for these very men had *Cromwel* undertaken before, when upon debate the inconveniency was objected which might follow by discontenting the common Soldiers, who would hardly be drawn to leave their old Officers and go under new, he could say, that his Soldiers had learn'd to obey the Parliament, to go or stay, fight or lay by the Sword upon their command; which I know prevail'd with a great many to give their Vote with that Ordinance:

39. By this trick a little beginning was made towards the breach of it, which was soon made greater. For they caused a report to be spread, That the King was bending with his Forces towards the Isle of *Ely*, but none could save but *Cromwel*, who must be sent in all haste for that Service, and an Order of dispensation is made for a very few Months, two or three (I remember not well whether) but with such protestations of that

Party, that this was only for that Exigency, and that for the World they would not have the Ordinance impeached, as Mr. Solicitor said; and that if no body would move for the calling him home at the expiration of that time, he would. But all this was to gull the House. Mr. Solicitor had forgot his Protestation, and before that was out there is another Order for more Months, and so renewed from time to time, that at last this great Commander is riveted in the Army, and so fast riveted, as after all his Orders of continuance were at an end, he would keep his Command still, which he has done for several Months, and dos yet, notwithstanding that Ordinance, without any Order at all of the House for it.

40. There, now they have the Sword where they would have it, and resolve with it to cut all Knots they cannot untie; yet they desire to keep that Resolution behind the Curtain as long as they could, and would be thought very obedient to the Parliament, hoping they should be always able to have it carried there according to their mind; and partly by the awe of their Power, partly by hopes of reward and advantage, still to have the major Vote. Which was easie for them, having both Sword and Purse, and withal an impudence and boldness to reward all those who would sell their
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Consciences. For all such Members of the House, and others were sure to be prefer'd, have large Gifts given them out of the Commonwealth's Money, Arrears paid, Offices confer'd upon them, countenanced and protected against all Complaints and Prosecutions, had they done never so unworthy, unjust, horrid actions, to the oppression of the Subject, and dishonour of the Parliament. All others discountenanc'd, oppos'd, inquisitions set upon them, question'd, imprison'd upon the least occasion, colours of Crimes many times for doing real good Service, and no favour nor justice for them: Only that the World might see which was the way to rise, and which to be sure to meet with contrary Winds and Storms, and so to make all men at least to hold Candles to these visible Saints.

41. But a Party in the House still troubled them, which saw their Juglings, their under-hand dealings, suspected their Designs, found what they drove at, and countermin'd them, oppos'd them, sometimes crost and defeated their Practices, always vext them, and did, in a great measure, divert and keep off Evil, tho the stream was so strong they could not attain and effect the Good they desir'd.

42. This knot must be broken, and some of the persons removed, who are represent-

ed to the Kingdom by these Men and their Agents, as those who were rotten at heart, not faithful to the Parliament, holding correspondence and intelligence with the King. This was upon Generals, only to prepare Mens minds to make passage for an approbation of any attempts to their prejudice, and give credit to such Lies and false Accusations as they should be able to set on foot: and all means are us'd to procure Witnesses to testifie any thing against them, Prisoners examin'd and encourag'd to say something, any scandalous desperate Rogues receiv'd and hearken'd to, Spies set to watch them, their goings out and comings in, what places they went to, what persons they visited or that visited them. Some of their Agents confest they have been two years together watching about some of our Houses, yet it pleased God to protect the Innocent, and, notwithstanding all these endeavours, it was never in their power to do any great mischief in this base unworthy way.

43. They came nearest to their Mark, when they had gotten the Lord *Savil*, a known infamous Impostor, to accuse me with keeping correspondence with my Lord *Digby* (of which he said he had notice given him by a Letter in Cypher from the Dutchess of *Buckingham*) and for what I did and said at *Oxford*, when I was amongst others
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sent thither to present Propositions to the King, where they had a fit Instrument to act for them, and say and swear any thing they would have him, who was at that very time employed by some of their principal ones, to truck and drive a Treaty underhand with some great persons at *Oxford*. For the chief among them had always Grace to try more ways than one to the Wood, and commonly not to row the way they look'd, willing enough to have made a good bargain for themselves at Court, and then have left their Whelps, their Zealots, to have mended themselves as they could, perhaps not despairing but to have perswaded them it was for their good, and the advancement of their Catholick Cause, so to have quieted them, and some little thing should have been done for their satisfaction. I did with my own Eyes see Letters, and so did several persons, Members of both Houses, some yet alive, some dead, witten by *Savil* to divers of great quality at *Oxford*, one to *L. D.* some to others, with only one Letter for their Names, where intelligence was given of the proceedings and intentions of the Parliament and their Army, many Propositions made in the name of that Party and their Undertakings, and in the Close my Lord *Savil* to be Lord Treasurer, Mr. Solicitor to be Lord Keeper, and others of their

Faction to have several Offices of Honour and Trust. These Letters were seen likewise by my Lord *Willoughby* and Mr. *Whitlock*, who are yet alive, and can testifie it, and by the Earl of *Essex*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and Sir *Christopher Wray*, who are dead. Some of them were written by *Savil's* own hand, some copy'd out by a person of Honour, who was employ'd by him, and is yet alive to make it good: And when they play'd this Game themselves, and pretended, forsooth, a design upon *Oxford*, and to have the King's Army in the West deliver'd to them (which was all but collusion and deceit, to abuse the World, and colour their Correspondencies) then did they make *Savil* play the Villain and accuse me, whom they prosecuted with that height of malice and violence, with so much injustice and partiality, especially that Man of Law Mr. Sollicitor, who tho Mr. *Whitlock* had not only consented to, but joined in, and advised all that I had done at *Oxford*, and that *Savil* himself had laid it equally upon us both in his Information (it seems either not so wicked as his setters on, or not fully instructed by them) yet such was the Justice of that Man, as he would needs sever our Cases, and was not ashamed not only so to declare his Judgment, but press'd it and sollicitated it, that the proceedings might be singly against me: whereby
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the eyes of many indifferent persons, Members of the House, were open'd, and their Spirits rais'd to an Indignation, insomuch that in spight of the Sollicitor and his Party, I was acquitted by the House.

44. This made them bethink themselves, begin to mistrust the House, and doubt if they should be able to carry things as formerly: And thereupon resolve on a course, which some amongst them had formerly still oppos'd or declin'd, as Mr. Sollicitor by name, which was to have the vacant places of those they had thrust out filled up by a new Election, issuing out Writs for it under their new Great Seal. This they hoped would alter the Constitution of the House, and give them infallibly a majority of Votes. Accordingly in the long Summer Vacation of the year 1645, when very many of the Members were gone into their several Countries, they fall upon that point of recruiting the House; and notwithstanding the thinness thereof, and its being surpris'd with that Debate, their Creatures most of them there (as they were always sure of some fifty Voices, persons whose only Employment was there to drudg and carry on their Masters work, having thereby a greatness far above the Sphere they had formerly mov'd in; whereas the others were Gentlemen, who had Estates which requir'd their looking after,

ter, and all of them some Vocations, either for their particular business or pleasure, which made them less diligent, and many of them, as at other times, so then away) yet they carried it but by three Voices.

45. Then to work they go to canvals for Elections in all places, for the bringing in of such as should be wholly theirs. First, they did all they could to stop Writs from going any whither but where they were sure to have fit Men chosen for their turns, and many an unjust thing was done by them in that kind: Sometimes denying Writs, sometimes delaying till they had prepared all things, and made it, as they thought, cock-sure: Many times Committee-men in the Country, such as were their Creatures, appearing grossly, and bandying to carry Elections for them; sometimes they did it fairly by the power of the Army, causing Soldiers to be sent and quarter'd in the Towns where Elections were to be, awing and terrifying, sometimes abusing and offering violence to the Electors. And when these undue Elections were complain'd of, and question'd at the Committee of Privileges, there appeared such palpable partiality, so much injustice, such delays and tricks to vex Parties grieved and their Witnesses, such countenancing and defending those who had done the wrong, as it dishearten'd

every body, and made many even sit down and give over prosecution.

46. Notwithstanding all this, and that by this means some persons unduly chosen were brought in, yet it prov'd, that far the greater part of those new Members deceiv'd the expectation of these Men. For tho they came into the House with as much prejudice as was possible against the other moderate Party, who had always been represented to them as persons ill affected, not faithful to the Parliament, obstructing all businesses that were for the good of the Kingdom, having Self-ends and ambitious designs of their own; when they came to sit in the House themselves, to see with their own eyes the carriage of things, understand the ways and drift both of the one and the other Party, discern the tricks and violent proceedings of the one, and plainness and reality of the other; that all these aimed at was but to get a good Peace, see the Government settled both in Church and State, and make no advantages to themselves, have no share, nor desir'd none of the Moneys, look after no Offices nor Preferments; in a word, not seek themselves but the pulick; and those on the other side hinder and oppose the settling of the Government, and keep things in a distraction and confusion, not willing to put up the Sword, but continue the burdens
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and pressures of the Country, countenance the insolencies of Soldiers, bear them out in their abusing of Ministers, and other honest Men, who were for Church-Government, keep up factions and drive on interests in the House, put themselves, their Kindred and Friends into all places of power and profit, share and divide among them the Commonwealth's Money, by Gifts and Rewards, and paying pretended Arrears; in a word, seek the ruin of the Kingdom, and the advancement of themselves and their Party; this made them change their Minds, and many of them to confess and acknowledge they had been abused.

47. But this was not the work of one day: Some time passed before they could make these clear discoveries and disabuse themselves; our grand Impostors kept them a good while at gaze, with putting jealousies into their heads against the *Scots*, as if the *Scots* had a design of making good their footing in this Kingdom, and that we who were of the other Party from them did carry on the Scotch Interest, and design'd to betray the Rights and Liberties of *England*; with which Engine they batter'd a long time, and made no small impression in many mens Minds.

48. For the next step they meant to make, was to fall foul with the *Scots*, and engage the

the Kingdoms one against another in Blood, which was the return they would give the *Scots*, as a reward of the good Service they had done them, coming to their help in time of need, when they were so low, so despairing of carrying on their work, and effecting what they had projected to themselves, as that the chief of them a little before were ready to run away, Ships prepared, good store of Treasure which they had shank'd, pack'd up to carry with them, or return'd beyond Sea by Bills of Exchange, and all things in a readiness for their remove, so well were they resolved to hazard, and (if need were) sacrifice themselves for their Country, tho they would be thought to be the only Patriots; but they had certainly left it in the lurch, if first my Lord of *Essex* had not done that memorable piece of Service in relieving *Glocester* (which was so gallantly defended by Major General *Massey*) and fighting the great Battel of *Newbury*. And a little before that the Kingdom of *Scotland* engaging in the Cause, sent in their Army to their assistance. My Lord of *Essex*, as has been shewed already, had his reward; he was cashier'd, and so was Major General *Massey*, who since likewise is turn'd out of the House (being one of the eleven Members) and voted to be impeached of High Treason. And next the *Scots* must have theirs.

theirs. The quarrelling with them, and endeavouring to destroy their Army, is what I must now speak of, as the Subject of the next Act in this Tragedy. The first endeavour is to break the Scottish Army, by not paying it, which before, whilst they had need of it, or hopes that the Kingdom of *Scotland* might cooperate to the working of their Designs, they could be careful to do their utmost to satisfy, and to provide for it fitting Accommodations. But now they can let many months pass without sending them any Money, or taking any care for their supply, or so much as affording them good words. One of these two effects they thought this would certainly produce, either the Soldiers to run away, perhaps mutiny, so the Army disband and fall to pieces, or else live upon Free-quarters, so by oppressing the Country to become odious, and the people rise against them. Nor were they wanting to give all encouragement so to do; Enlistaries were sent out, and Agents employ'd in all places to stir up and embitter mens Spirits. Many Complaints were, by their procurements, sent up to the Parliament, and all means used to get hands to those Complaints, and strange things were suggested, vast Sums to be levy'd by them, so many thousand Pounds a week to be levy'd upon a County, unheard of Insolencies

to be committed, Robbing, Killing, Ravishing, Riots, all manner of Villanies. This would come up with open cry, make a great noise, be received and heighten'd in the House of Commons with railing Speeches, bitter Invectives, blown over the City and Kingdom to the disadvantage and reproach not only of the Army, but the Nation; in a word, all done that could be imagin'd to set Mah, Woman and Child, and even the very Stones against them. The Commissioners of Scotland that were in London would many times send in their Papers to the Houses of Parliament, to shew the falshoods of those Reports, and desire that Committees might be sent down to join with theirs to examine these things; pressing that it ought to be so done by the Treaty between the two Kingdoms, and that there should always be a Committee of both Kingdoms with the Army to govern it, to provide what was fit for the Soldiers, and prevent both disorders and misunderstandings: but it was not that which our Masters desir'd, and therefore they would send none.

49. The Members of the House who dislik'd those Courses, and saw the endeavours that were us'd to cause a breach between the two Nations, did yet desire, that if those relations were true, it might to appear, and be represented not only to the
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General of the Army, and to that part of the Committee of Estates of *Scotland* which was in *England* (both those with the Parliament and those with the Army) but even to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, that there might be redress, the Offenders punish'd, and the Kingdom of *England* righted and satisfy'd: If false, that the raisers and contrivers of those Reports might be punish'd, and the Kingdom of *Scotland* repaired, which was the way to keep Peace between the Nations. And so sometimes they prevail'd, and got it order'd for an Examination, but never any thing could be made of it. Only at a Market-Town in *Yorkshire* there had been a Riot, and some Men killed; for which a Council of War had pass'd on the Offenders, and some (as I remember) were executed, some cashier'd. And for the raising those great Sums of Money, it is true, Money they did raise, or else their Soldiers must have starv'd: But for that exorbitancy of raising so many thousand Pounds a Week upon one County, it was a Scandal and false Lye, grounded upon notable Cheat and Collusion. For the *Scots* drawing their Quarters near together, which they did, as well for the better governing of their Army, as for the safety of it, knowing they had many back-friends, this made them lie heavy upon places, and exact the more Money and Provisions

visions from those several Townships. Then did these Men who were employed to blow the Coals, and put all into a flame (if possible) between the Country and the *Scots*, take the highest rate that was set upon any one of these Towns, and make a computation what it would come to upon the whole County at that proportion, which Sum they inform'd to be the charge upon that County for the payment of the Scottish Army; and this must be made a great business and past for a truth, as if the *Scots* had rais'd so much Money, when in truth there was no such thing.

50. Yet let me not be thought to excuse and justify all that the Soldiers of that Army have done upon the Country, and not to pity with a very tender Sense, the deep sufferings of those Northern parts, the Scottish Army lying so long upon them on Free-quarter. I must be very ignorant of the carriage of an unpaid Army, if I did not believe that many disorders were committed, many a poor Country-man exceedingly oppress'd and abus'd by the unruly Soldiers, and more by half taken and spoiled by them, than would have sufficed for their Pay and Entertainment, if it had been orderly rais'd and provided by the authority and care of the State which was to pay them. And so should I likewise have very small bowels towards my

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Country, *England* in general, and particularly those poor Counties, in one of which I receiv'd my being, if I did not grieve and mourn from the bottom of my Soul for the sad condition which did then overspread them, the poverty to which they are reduced, the ruin of so many Houses and Families, the Land lying in many places an uninhabited Wilderness, all over a face of misery and desolation. But then the more I am raised to an indignation against them who were the cause of this, those who had rather suffer not one County or two, but all the Counties in *England*, and two Kingdoms besides to perish and ruin, than they to fail of their Ends. So must all the North be made a Sacrifice to their malice and revenge upon the Scottish Nation, and rather than not enforce the *Scots* to oppress those parts, hoping at last they would fall one upon another, they will suffer the Country to endure any Misery; and not only so, but impudently and perfidiously wrest and misinterpret the Treaty themselves had made, and so put a great scorn thereon, to give greater provocations to the *Scots*: and thus they make themselves ridiculous and infamous to the World, and to all posterity, by a gross and palpable collusion.

§ 1. For when the Commissioners of *Scotland* and the General of the Army did so of-

ten and earnestly move for Pay for the Soldiers, representing that on the monthly Pay which was condition'd for and promised, they have not of so many Months received any thing, and that it was impossible to observe that Discipline in the Army which was requisite for the ease of the Country, because the Soldiers were unpaid, they had the face to say, that by the Treaty the Scots could not receive their Pay at present, because there was a Clause, that if any part thereof were behind, they should be allowed Interest for forbearance (which Interest was not to be presently paid neither, but afterwards when the Peace was settled and the Kingdom more able) upon which these conscionable Logicians infer'd, that allowing Interest nothing could be demanded. So that which the Scots gave way to out of friendliness and confidence, to shew they would not exact upon our necessities, if at any time through the great occasions of expence we were not able to give them their full Pay, is now made use of, and ungratefully turned upon them, to defer the payment of any part: And this only to affront them, and make them desperate.

52. And as they deal with the Army, so did they with the State and Kingdom of Scotland, by putting neglects and indignities upon their Ministers, raising jealousies of

them and of the whole Nation. For this they had their *Robert Wright*, and their unknown Knight to give intelligence of Correspondencies held by them with the Queen, of undertaking to do great matters for the King, Treaties with *France*, strange designs and practices against the Parliament, and every foot Letters of Information from some well-wishers abroad to Mr. Solicitor, or Sir *Henry Mildmay*, or some other of that Gang, upon this strain. Then this is whisper'd about, and these Letters go from hand to hand, and told as a secret in every bodies Ears, to make people afraid and mistrust even their own Shadows, as if all were in danger. Sometimes the House must be acquainted with some of these things, or some person or other brought to the Bar to make some relation, as Sir *Thomas Hanmore*. Then the doors are shut, long winded Speeches made to set out our dangers, and great expectations rais'd of strange discoveries, and all but a *parturiunt montes*. Yet this serves to make a noise, and they had Instruments abroad to improve it, and many honest well meaning men were cozen'd and stood at gaze, knew not what to think of their Brethren of *Scotland*, nor yet of the Members of either House, and desir'd to have things more fairly carry'd towards them; and as they had had experience of their faithfulness formerly,

ly, so could they not be brought by such artifices to have an ill opinion of them without better grounds for it, and therefore differ'd in the entertainment they gave to those alarms, judging them false and causeless, accordingly expressing themselves, diverting and breaking the desperate thrusts which these men made, and were therefore decry'd as Scottish, malignant, and prejudged in all they did or said.

53. The malice against the *Scots* rests not here, it carries them to discover and manifest slighting and neglecting, and (that not sufficiently provoking) a violent injuring and affronting of them. First, they vouchsafe not to answer the Papers they put into the House, some not at all, none presently (as formerly they were wont to do) nor in any convenient time: but make them wait days, and weeks, and months, for a return to what the Commissioners present from the Kingdom of *Scotland*, or from themselves in the name of that Kingdom.

54. The Committee of the two Kingdoms is now no more in esteem, than (as they say) a Saint without a Holiday: That which before did manage all the great business, which was looked upon with so much reverence, even as a sacred thing, pray'd for in the Churches like the Lords in the Council, had all the trust, all the power, not on-

ly in matters of War, which were wholly left to them by the ordinance of their Constitution; but all other business of consequence, as framing propositions for Peace, and all Addresses to his Majesty, all Negotiations with foreign States, whatsoever did in any high degree concern the Parliament or Kingdom, was still referred to them, and what they did, passed for Law, was seldom or never alter'd in the House. But now the Tide was turn'd, they had nothing to do. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was discharg'd of his subordination to them, and left to himself, to do as he saw cause with his Army. They of the Committee, who were of that Faction, seldom or never came to it; so that the Commissioners of *Scotland*, and the other Members of it, did come and attend three or four days one after another, sometimes oftner, to no purpose, and no Committee could sit for want of a number: nay, they prevail'd so far, as now to vilifie and shew their neglect or jealousy of the Scottish Commissioners. They would sometimes get business referred to the Members of both Houses that were of that Committee, with their Exclusion.

35. To provoke them yet more, they break through the Law of Nations, which in all places in the World give protection to publick Ministers employed by any Prince,

or State, so as neither their Servants or Goods, and especially not their Letters, which are of greater consequence, and more immediately concern the Honour and Interest both of their Masters and them, ought to be in any sort touch'd or stop'd; yet the Packets of the Commissioners of *Scotland* must be intercepted, and their Letters broke open. This done several times in a secret and private manner, the Letters suppressed and never heard of more, which was a great wrong and injury to that Kingdom; yet cannot be said to be an affront, because it was not avowed. But they have likewise done it openly and avowedly in a most insolent way: Once they set a Captain, one *Massey*, at the Guards by *London*, knowing the Commissioners were sending an Express into *Scotland*; and this Captain (who deserves to be made an Example for it; and his Masters too who set him to work) stops the Gentleman who was sent with the Packet, takes the very Letters they had written to the Committee of Estates, reads them, and keeps the Messenger Prisoner upon the Guard; which was the highest affront, the greatest violation of the publick Faith, the greatest scandal to all Princes, States, and even Societies of Men, the basest unworthiest dealing with a Nation, to whom we were engag'd by Amity, League, Cove-

nant, common Interest, and all Bonds of Gratitude for the good we had receiv'd from them, that ever was heard of, or read in any Story, or I think ever will be again. Yet was this fellow, by the power and interest of these Men, protected in the House of Commons: So far from being punish'd, when the Scottish Commissioners made their Complaint, that when the Lords had committed him for it, they made the House set him at liberty, and quarrel with the Lords for breaking their Privileges, in committing one who was under examination of their Committee: for they had refer'd the business to a Committee, in truth not to do the Kingdom of *Scotland* any right in punishing the Offender, but affront it the more in protecting him:

56. One would think now these had bid fair for an absolute breach with *Scotland*, but they are not satisfy'd yet; one thing more they will do which they are confident will do the feat. It is this; At the coming in of the *Scots*, they had born them in hand, they desir'd nothing but the uniting of the Nations: That therefore they would never make Peace without their advice and consent; and that as they desir'd a conjunction of Forces and Counsels for prosecution of the War, so whensoever a Peace was made, they desir'd a conjunction of Counsels and Interests

rests for the preservation thereof, that so the Kingdoms, interwoven one with another, might be a mutual strength and security one to another. Therefore in framing the propositions for Peace presented to the King at *Oxford*, and treated on at *Uxbridg*, which was done at the Committee of the two Kingdoms, they make it one proposition, That some Commissioners from *Scotland* should be joined with ours in the power of the Militia of this Kingdom, and converse some of ours with theirs in their Kingdom, and so bring it to the House. Where my self, and many more, who truly desir'd the joyning of the Nations in love and good understanding to perpetuity, opposed it, fearing that joining them in that power would prove a dividing of affection, which should be best set, and so preserved by keeping several their several Interests. But those carry'd it, and what we fear'd prov'd true: it being afterward made an occasion of great endeavours to set the two Kingdoms farther asunder, and certainly was first done by them out of that design.

57. For now when the propositions were to be sent again to the King to *Newcastle*, that Party took their rise upon that proposition to have them all review'd, and changed almost all in them that look'd towards the *Scots*, and gave themselves liberty, as they had

had a large Field, to shew the inconveniencies of admitting another Kingdom to share power in this. And much was done and said reflecting upon *Scotland*, and against all such intermixtures. Then those who shewed their dislike of it before, and would not have had it done when it was to do, being now done, did not desire at that time to have it undone, in truth, unwilling there should be any altering of the propositions at all; not knowing where these Men would stop, if once they began to change any part: And therefore offer'd this consideration, that though before it had been no wrong or unkindness to our Brethren not to have admitted them to such a Copartnership, which they apprehended would prove rather a prejudice than otherwise, but being now in, they thought it might be ill taken to thrust them out, and argue a jealousy and change of Affection, according to the Rule, *Turpius ejicitur quam non admittitur*, &c. But for that very reason were these Men the more earnest for it, that it might be ill taken, that it might argue a jealousy, that the *Scots* might see by it, that the countenance of the Parliament was not to them as before, and that the Ligament being untied, by which the two Kingdoms did seem to be bound up together, they might fall in sunder, and the breach be the greater. O the
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wickedness of these Men, that thirsted after nothing but to see the two Kingdoms weltering in that blood which they must let out of one another's Veins! But that does the more commend the goodness, piety, wisdom, and moderation of our Brethren of *Scotland*, which prevented it; for notwithstanding all these provocations, all these injuries and affronts, they were stedfast, they were unmoveable in their resolutions to promote the Peace of *England*. They said they came in to help it, they will not be made Instruments to destroy it: They had bound themselves in a Covenant before God, and in a Treaty with their Brethren of *England*, to endeavour by all good ways and means a happy Settlement and Reformation both in Church and State: The art and malice of their Enemies, and the Enemies of Peace, shall not engage them to become in any sort an occasion of hindering it. Therefore they deny themselves, they renounce their own interest, they quit all pretensions, and agree with the Parliament in those alterations, and thereby defeat the expectation of those who hop'd to see, not only the propositions of Peace laid aside upon that occasion, but that *Scotland* should have born the blame, both of not making Peace with the King, and also of all the Miseries which must have followed upon both Kingdoms by a rupture and breach between 'em.

58. When they saw they could not by Art and underhand-dealing compass this Breach, that neither the *Scots* would be provoked to declare against the Parliament, and so the War begin on that side; nor could they engage the Northern Counties to fall upon them: If either of which had taken, they had still kept themselves behind the Curtain, and hid the Arm which had thrown the Stone; they had seem'd, alas, innocent well-meaning Men, and yet the mischief befallen which they had contriv'd. But rather than fail they will throw of the Vizard, and come downright with open face, to the executing their Design. They set on their Teazers, as *Haslerig*, *Mildmay*, *Martin*, and many others, to move, That Sir *Thomas Fairfax* might go down with his Army to protect those Northern Counties, and relieve them from the oppression of the *Scots*, a pretty way of protection and giving ease, to send an Army into a Country. We see how this Army eases the Country now, to the breaking both of their backs and hearts. But, could they have gotten a Vote for this, their work had been done, and we should soon have heard of mischief and felt it: The animosity between those two Armies had instantly put them and the Kingdoms into blood, for which, no question, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* had his Instructions, but the House

would never give way to it, tho with earnestness prest many times by that Party. And when they saw they could not prevail, the presumptions are very strong, that they would have had the Army to have march'd thither without the Parliament's order: for the Scots had an alarm of the Army's moving towards them, and their Commissioners so inform'd the House, with a protestation against it, upon which there was a stop, with a denial and disavowment of their having any such intention. Yet certainly there was an attempt, and it is said, orders out for part of the Army to move that way; but God be thanked it went no further, for that would have been a sad business.

59. Before I go off this matter, I must do that right to Col. *Pointz*, who commanded the Northern Forces, as to attribute to his care and vigilancy, and his discreet ordering of his business, a great part of our happiness, that all that mischief was prevented which was so earnestly endeavour'd to be pull'd on us, by engaging the Country and Scottish Army in quarrel and bloodshed; and that was his Crime with these Men to be for it, since so unjustly put out of his Command, after they had stir'd up the unruly Rabble of the Agitators, to take him by violence out of his House at *Tork*, being as absolutely in his Command as *Fairfax* was
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in his: Meerly doing it by an act of power, force, and violence, breaking through all Rules of Justice, Equity, and Honesty, bringing him a Prisoner to the Army, not suffering him so much as to put on his Clothes, or speak to his Wife, or any Friend, but use him as if he had been the greatest Traytor in the world, when Sir *Thomas Fairfax* could not pretend to the least jurisdiction over him, nor any thing could be laid to his charge: Such is their hatred of every honest Man, who stands in their way to their pernicious designs.

60. Their next hope was, that the Scottish Army would not go out of the Kingdom at the desire of the Parliament; so bloody Noses would be upon that occasion: and I must give them their due, there was no failure in them, to do all that was possible to have kept them in still only to quarrel with them, but with a seeming to desire nothing so much as their going. Very forward they were to get the Vote of the Parliament that they should be gone; but to enable them to go they would not help, rather hinder, and hang on all the weights they could. To say the truth, they had some ground to believe, First, That they would not go, Secondly, That they could not, if they would; for the *Scots* had a colour, if not just reason to have refus'd.

61. By the Covenant and Treaty, the two Kingdoms had bound themselves before God and one to another, as one intire Body, to prosecute the Cause (these are the very words of the Declaration of both Houses to the State of the united Provinces, which Declaration Mr. Sollicitor himself penn'd, therefore they must hold it Canonical) and that neither Kingdom should lay down Arms till the Ends mention'd in the Covenant and Treaty were obtain'd. If then in this Cause the Forces of both Kingdoms made but one intire Body, the *Scots* had a good Plea, Why will you send us away and disband us wholly? This proceeding is not equal, the Body must suffer, and cannot act as an intire Body if one whole Member be cut off; or if there be no more need of acting, if the Ends be obtain'd for which the Body was constituted, and therefore you send us away, then why do you keep up your own Army, the other part of this Body? This had certainly been strong reason, which Mr. Sollicitor would have been puzzled to answer.

62. Besides, the *Scots* had cause enough to have their jealousy prompt them, that it was not safe for them to depart with their Army, lay by their Swords, and leave standing in this Kingdom so great a Force, which they knew to be so ill affected to them, and might

might act to their prejudice ; and the King being in their power, perhaps force both him and the Parliament to a Peace disadvantageous to *Scotland*, and differing from those grounds upon which, by the Kingdom of *England*, they were engag'd in this Quarrel : or else make no Peace at all, but interpose (as *Cromwel* to the Earl of *Manchester*) to hinder it, and themselves govern by the Sword, not only to the prejudice of *Scotland*, but also ruin of *England*. One may swear there was ground enough for such a fear ; for since it hath prov'd so to purpose. But according to the old Rule, they who mean well themselves, are not suspicious of others. The *Scots* had no thoughts but of settling a Peace, laying down of Arms, calling the People, and all things to revert into their old Channel ; therefore they were willing to be gone and return into their own Country, in confidence that after their departure, the Army under Sir *Thomas Fairfax* should likewise presently be disbanded, since there was no more need of any Army at all, so they were willing to go.

63. But then the question was if they would go or not, and how the Soldiers would be dispos'd to march out, who had not been paid of so many Months, insomuch as the Scottish Commissioners gave in an account of some 800000 *l.* Arrears. Here our Gallants

lants hop'd they had them upon the Hip, and should surely give them a fall. Then they thrust on some of their little Northern Beagles, as Mr. *Blaxton*, and others, to inform what high Sums they had rais'd upon the Country; upon which they conclude the Scottish Army was in their debt, and therefore they would come to an account with them, which had been a sure way to have kept them in the Kingdom five or six months longer. But to help that, our just Pay-masters said the Army should march away, and some persons be left behind to see all accounts adjusted: which had requir'd very good Rhetorick to have made it Justice, especially to have appear'd so to the Scottish Soldiers: for to have sent them away without Money, and then ask the Country-man what the Soldiers had taken, when he might say what he thought good, the Soldier not there to answer for himself, and yet his Pay to be thereby determin'd, would have been but hard measure. But the Rhetorick had been, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to have gone down with his Army, which should have made it just, and easie, and every thing; for this was it they desir'd to bring is to, as it was often mov'd and press'd by them.

64. At last the well-wishers to Peace wish much ado prevail'd in the House, and

it was carry'd to offer the *Scots* a gross Sum for all, so to part fair, and avoid the delay and disputes of an account, to which they presently agreed. Then the question was what Sum. Here again we had a strong debate: For our Incendiaries hung by every twig, sticking fast to their Principles to dissatisfie the *Scots*, and break with them (if possible) upon any point; pretending the poverty of the Kingdom, and the great Sums the *Scots* had rais'd, and therefore they would give but 100000 *l.* which they knew was all one with a hundred Shillings, as to the satisfiing of the Soldiers for marching away. In the end, after many debates in the House, and passages to and again with the Scotch Commissioners, the lowest Sum that could be agreed unto by the Commissioners was 400000 *l.* two in hand, and the other two after some time, with a protestation of theirs, that the Army would not be satisfy'd with less, nor inabled to march, which was motive enough for these Men to deny it; for if they could have wrought the dissatisfaction of the Army, so as to have refus'd to go, it was where they would have it. Whereupon 'twas oppos'd by them with all the power they had, but in the end the better part, that is the moderate Party, who were the Peace-makers, those that labour'd to keep things even and fair

fair between the two Kingdoms, carry'd it :
And the sum was voted, and all things
agreed upon, tho' with difficulty (for
they fought it out and lost it by Inches)
then the *Scots* declar'd they would march out
by such a day.

65. Yet had our *Bourgeois* one hope left,
which was to quarrel at last about the per-
son of the King, believing the *Scots* would
certainly have taken his Majesty with them
into *Scotland*. This they knew had been
ground sufficient, and would have engag'd
all *England* against them, giving a confirma-
tion to all the jealousies formerly rais'd, and
occasion'd a thousand more : And had cer-
tainly more advantag'd the designs of those
who thirsted after the destruction of the
King first, the *Scots* next, and then all such
as desir'd Peace within this Kingdom, and
have made them a smoother way to their
damnable Ends, the altering of the Govern-
ment, and bringing in a confusion both in
Church and State, than any thing that could
have happen'd : And the two Kingdoms
had been together in blood, the author of the
mischief undiscover'd, mask'd over with the
glorious pretences of zealously vindicating
the honesty and interest of *England*, and ev-
ery breach of Covenant and Treaty in this
Cause, which made them with so much pe-
remptoriness and incivility, and in truth in-
justice;

justice, demand that the *Scots* would deliver up his Majesty, who had an equal interest in his Royal Person with the Kingdom of *England*, he being equally King of both, and an equal interest in the closing and binding up the unhappy differences which were between him and both his Kingdoms, they having been engag'd in that Quarrel at the entreaty of *England*, and made up together with an intire Body with *England* (as is before shewed) for the prosecution of it. Therefore they had no more reason to trust us with the King than we had them; and as much were they concern'd in all that related to his Majesty's Person, so as they had ground enough to have disputed it, and out of that hope was it press'd by the others. But the wisdom of the Scottish Nation foresaw the inconveniencies which must have necessarily follow'd, had they been positive at that time, how they had plaid their Enemies game to their own ruin; and even ruin to his Majesty. Therefore they made for him the best conditions they could, that is for the safety and honour of his Person, and to avoid greater mischiefs, were necessitated to leave him in *England*, and so march away. Which they did in February 1646. Here then the very mouth of Iniquity was stop't, Malice it self had nothing

to say to give the least blemish to the faithfulness and reality of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the clearness of their Proceedings, their zeal for Peace, without self-seeking and self-ends, to make advantage of the miseries and misfortunes of *England*. This gave such a reputation to them, and to those that appear'd for them (that is, so far for them, as to endeavour the doing of them right, and prevent the practices of those who sought all means of doing them wrong) and gave such a blow to the other violent Party, so broke their power, and lessen'd their authority in the Parliament, as it made way for obtaining those resolutions which were presently taken for disbanding Sir *Thomas Fairfax's Army*. Till when, by the fomenting jealousies against the *Scots*, and against all moderate and well affected persons, as if their designs were to betray the Cause, deliver over the Honour, and Interest, and Strength of *England*, into the hands of the *Scots*, they prevail'd so far, generally upon the affection of the people, and especially upon many well-meaning (but not so well discerning) persons, Members of Parliament, as they were able to suppress all good motions tending towards Peace, all endeavours of smoothing those rugged ways that their violence had put all things in, and to swell up that Independent Army, like the

Spleen in the Body by the concurrence of all ill humours, to the ruin and consumption of the Body it self: And yet other Forces cashier'd, as Major General *Massey's* Brigade, which had done all the Service in the West, of which those Drones robb'd the sweet, getting the honour and advantage of it to themselves. That tho that Army was compos'd for the most part of factious Sectaries, except some few gallant Men that were scatter'd here and there amongst them, as Colonel *Greves*, Colonel *Thomas Sheffield*, Sir *Robert Pye*, Colonel *Herbert*, Colonel *Butler*, Quarter-Master General *Fincher*, and other Officers of Quality, and Gentlemen of the Life-Guard, who had formerly serv'd under my Lord of *Essex*, and Sir *William Waller*, and in other parts of the Kingdom, to whom they did the honour of letting them perform all the Action which that Army had to do, and who every one of them afterward left it, when it left its obedience to the Parliament and fidelity to the Kingdom, and that they grew to be not only an unnecessary grievous burden in respect of charge, but also a let and hinderance to the settling all Government both civil and ecclesiastical, neither submitting themselves to order of Parliament, nor permitting others where they could hinder it; but giving countenance to all disorders, especially in the

the Church, as breaking open the Church doors, doing most unseemly barbarous things, indeed not fit to be related either to modest or Christian Ears, and in time of Divine Service interrupting Ministers as they were preaching, miscalling, reviling them, sometimes pulling them down by violence, beating and abusing them, getting into the Pulpits themselves, and venting either ridiculous or scandalous things, false and pernicious Doctrines, countenancing and publishing seditious Pamphlets (for which they had a Press that follow'd the Army) decrying both King and Parliament and all Authority, infusing a rebellious Spirit into the people, under the pretence of Liberty and Freedom. All this notwithstanding while the Scottish Army was in the Kingdom. Such things were whisper'd, such jealousies and fears rais'd, as these inconveniencies were not only dispens'd with, but the Army supported and cherish'd as if they had been tutelary Gods, those who must have protected and deliver'd us from all danger, and all that the Parliament and Kingdom could do, little enough to feed and maintain them, tho an excrescence that drew away the whole nourishment of the Body, and starv'd it.

67. But afterwards when the Kingdom saw how they had been abus'd, made to fear

where no fear was, and were come to themselves, they soon grew to feel the weight of that which lay upon them, and seek for ease. Then City and Country could petition the Parliament for disbanding the Army, complain of their intolerable disorders and irregularities, and the Parliament was well dispos'd for it, who now likewise discover'd the art and malice of the Independent Party, a Spirit they had rais'd which they would gladly lay, and consider'd, that as such an Army was dangerous, so none at all was needful, that *Ireland* wanted what we had too much of, Soldiers.

68. Besides, they well saw that whilst that Army stood, they should never be able to relieve *Ireland* to any purpose, the stock of the Kingdom was swallow'd up in their maintenance; and tho' for the space of a whole year there had not been an Enemy in the Field, nor Town possess'd by any to find them employment, yet they recruited daily, all care being taken for sending them Pay, Arms, Provision, Clothes, with all other necessaries, as if they were every day upon hard and dangerous Service, when they did nothing but trouble and oppress the Country, so as notwithstanding their glorious pretences of fighting for Conscience, not ~~but~~ sacrificing themselves to God and the Kingdom's Cause, none of them would stir

to help the poor Protestants in that Kingdom, but even hinder'd what they could all others from going.

69. Which appear'd by Colonel *Hammond's* Capitulation, being design'd for the Service of *Dublin*, who tho he were but an Ensign to Sir *Simon Harcourt* in the beginning of those Wars, now a Colonel of the new Model, stood upon his pantouffles, That he would not be oblig'd for longer than two or three Months, have all his Pay before hand, Victuals for six Months tho he would stay but two, be absolute Commander of all the Forces there, have a proportion of Money over and above for contingent occasions put into what hands he would appoint, a Fleet of Ships to transport him, wait upon him, and be at his disposing, not to stir without his leave, in truth he must be Admiral and General; such Terms as no Prince or foreign State that had but given an assistance could have stood upon higher. This was the obedient conscientious Army; but most Men were satisfy'd if it was not disbanded *Ireland* must be lost, and *England* undone.

70. The Parliament therefore taking into their consideration the necessity of relieving that dying Kingdom, after long debate, and much opposition from all that Party, came at last to a resolution in *May 1647*,
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and vote, that a certain proportion of Foot and Horse should forthwith be transported into *Ireland* (as I remember seven Regiments of Foot, of which four I am certain were to be taken out of the Army) they further vote, that no Foot should be continu'd in *England*, but those that were to be for the necessary defence of the Garisons, and that about five thousand Horse and Dragoons should remain under Pay in this Kingdom, for quieting and preventing any stir or trouble, either within or from abroad, to interrupt proceedings till a settlement of Affairs: Peoples Minds after such Commotions being, like the Sea after a Storm, unquiet for some time tho the wind be abated. Those Men would have had a far greater number, and press'd it earnestly, saying, We laid by our strength that all might be deliver'd back into the King's hands; and tho even this proportion seem'd very great to discreet and moderate Men, yet they pitch'd upon it, partly to stop the mouths of these Railers, and give satisfaction to all indifferent persons, who look'd not so far into business, and were apt enough to be misled into jealousies and suspicions, and partly because they well hop'd it would be but for some short time that this charge should be continu'd upon the Kingdom.

71. Here then is the Ax first laid to the root of this broad spreading Tree, the Army; a dismal Cypress, the shadow and dropping whereof were so pernicious as to darken all the comfortable beams of our Sun-shine of Peace, and suffer no good thing to prosper near it; this vex the Children of darkness, who now must cast about, shake Heaven and Earth, raise all the black Spirits of Hell, confound Sea and Land, and all the Elements, rather than permit this to take place.

72. The Parliament goes on with this work, refers it to the Committee of Lords and Commons at *Derby-house*, to see those Votes concerning *Ireland* put in execution. The eleven Members were almost all of them of that Committee, who may say *Hinc illa Lacrima*. For doing their parts, together with the rest, in discharge of the duty and trust which lay upon them to take care of that poor Kingdom, and discovering the designs of the Army to frustrate all the good designs of the Parliament, they incur the mortal hatred of the Party and Army which have driven them from their Homes, and Country, and City of *London*, without the privacy or consent of the House of Parliament. The Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Dacres*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Major General *Massey*, and Mr. *Saloway*,

loway, are the persons employ'd. These labour to dispose Officers and Soldiers to a compliance with the necessities of *Ireland*; but at the very first were receiv'd with a mutinous acclamation amongst the Officers whom they had call'd together, some of them crying out, One and all, and the whole Company disturb'd and distemper'd. So as finding it not convenient to deal with them together in a body, they desir'd, that such as had a sense of the miserable condition of that Kingdom, and a will to ingage for the relief of it, would repair to them to their Lodgings, which very many did, Colonels and Lieutenant Colonels, and other Officers, and undertook for themselves, and a very considerable number of their Soldiers, about 1500, or 2000, casting themselves wholly upon the Parliament for their conditions. The rest of the Officers and Soldiers of the Army doing all that was possible to obstruct the Service, decrying the Employment, railing upon, misusing, threatening, and thereby discourage those who engag'd, calling them deserters of the Army and of their General, and by great offers and assurance of better conditions to stay with them keeping of others.

73. And at that very time did some of the Officers meet and prepare a Petition, together with a Representation, in the name of

of the whole Army, That before disbanding there might be an Act of Indemnity with the King's royal Assent to it; that Auditors might speedily repair to the Army to cast up their Accounts for their Service from the beginning; that none who had serv'd voluntarily in that Army should be compel'd to go out of the Kingdom; that till disbanded, Money might be sent down for their supply. This was a fair beginning of the godly Army's taking care for *Ireland*, and of those good Officers proceedings, so obedient to the Parliament, as meely for that they had been made choice of and put into the rooms of far better Men than themselves; now forsooth, when the Parliament would have some of them go for *Ireland*, they will put the whole Army into a Mutiny.

74. For an Army, or any part of it, to join in a Petition, tho' but for Pay, when their Superiors (that Authority which they are to obey) require any Duty to be perform'd, or Service to be done by them, as the present relieving of *Ireland* was, this, I think, by the Rules of War, has in all Armies been held a Mutiny, and the Authors, at least, punish'd with death. Here to be sure it shall mutiny to purpose, and not disband according to the resolutions of Parliament; they put them not only to petition in this mutinous way, but to desire
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impossibilities, as *Tacitus* says, *Non ut assumerentur sed causam seditioni*, not to rest satisfy'd with former Ordinances, and the general care taken for all who had serv'd in these unhappy Wars, but to demand a particular Act of Indemnity with his Majesty's approbation, not that they car'd for him, or meant ever to see him again in power to enact any thing, which their proceedings since have made clear to all mens understandings (though some discern'd it very well to be their principle and their drift from the beginning) but they knew this would take up time, could not possibly be so soon done, and would elude all endeavours of disbanding. So for Auditors to go and cast up their Accounts was the work of many Months, and a strange demand for this godly obedient Army to make, who, by their own sayings, were not Mercenary, but had taken up Arms in judgment and conscience, and out of love and duty to the Parliament, not for their Pay. Their other demand is as good, and is as much as to say, as that the Parliament should send none of them for *Ireland*, they who were the Parliaments Army, who, as Mr. *Cromwel* made us believe, would go with a word to any part of the World, whither the Parliament would please to send them; and therefore the other Armies and Major General *Massey's* Forces must

must be cashier'd (those who certainly would have gone) to make way for their entertainment. These now who had receiv'd the Pay of the Kingdom so long, the sole Army, which, like *Pharaoh's lean Kine*, had eaten all the rest, and had the Sword of the Parliament singly and wholly in their hands, stand upon terms, and will not be compell'd to go, that is, will not go; for they know none is compell'd for *Ireland*, nor was there any thought of it, since many were willing to engage in that War who were not so in this; but this was enough to possess the Army with a prejudice against the employment, and against the intentions and proceedings of Parliament.

75. This Petition and other of their practices so interrupted the business, that our Commissioners at their return inform'd both Houses of it, who yet were so tender of conceiving or expressing any great dislike of the contrivers and promoters of the Petition for obstructing the Service of *Ireland*, and distempering the Army, and that those who had but been drawn in it should not find themselves lessen'd in their good Opinion, who resolv'd to pass by all, and punish none, except such as should mutinously persist in the promoting of it. They sent likewise up for some of the Officers that had more notoriously appear'd therein, and in discouraging

raging and abusing them who offer'd themselves in the Irish Service: Whose miscarriage, though it was very gross, and the answers of some of them at the House of Commons Bar mere collusion and equivocation (as by name Lieutenant Colonel *Pride's*, who being charg'd with causing the Petition to be read at the head of his Regiment, deny'd it stoutly, because, it seems, it was but at the head of every Company, the Regiment not being drawn up together) notwithstanding all this, the House willing to bury what was past, and hoping it would have gain'd them to a better obedience for the future, sent them down again, rather with respect than otherwise, acquiescing with their denial. And this very act of Clemency was turn'd against them; and afterwards when the Army came to do their work barefac'd, no longer to excuse but justify that Petition, nay, make the Parliament criminous for questioning it, they upbraided the House with sending up for the Officers from their Charge, when they had nothing to say to them.

76. The necessity of disbanding more and more appearing, it hastens the resolutions for it; whereupon it was order'd, that Officers and Soldiers should have six weeks Pay of their Arrears, and so be disbanded, those

those that would be taken in for *Ireland* to have six weeks more advance. The Parliament at first pitch'd upon no greater Sum, it being the highest that had yet been given to any. Major General *Massey's* Brigade, which had been much longer without Pay, and had done better Service, had no more. The other Armies under my Lord of *Essex*, and Sir *William Waller*, which had likewise done more work, the chief and main of it all, as having had a stronger Force to grapple with, and yet had receiv'd less Wages, were put off with a fortnights Pay. This made the Parliament think this proportion sufficient; yet afterwards they of themselves increas'd it to two months, which was more than any had before. Supposing then there would be no question of a compliance, they proceed to perfect what was further necessary for the supply of *Ireland*, and safety of *England*.

77. For *England* they appointed what Regiments of Horse and Dragoons shall stand, settle the Garisons, name Sir *Thomas Fairfax* General of all the Forces under Pay, which was sufficient Honour for him for the Service he had done; and they'd that they had no meaning to dismiss those with reproach who had serv'd them, as they were falsely scandaliz'd.

78. For *Ireland*, they make Serjeant Major General *Shippin* Commander in Chief, with the Title of Field Marshal, and Major General *Massey* Lieutenant General of the Horse; recommended it to the care of the Committee at *Derby house*, to prepare all things necessary for the forwarding of that Service, and draw off such of the Army as were willing to go: for the distempers there continu'd, those who had declar'd themselves being affronted, discourag'd, and many of them debauch'd from that Service.

79. This was faithfully perform'd by the Committee (that is, by part of it) for some of them, as the Solicitor, *Cromwel*, Sir *Arthur Hasterig*, and those of that gang would not attend, but the others did. And if I may speak it without vanity, it being one of the great Crimes with which the eleven Members stand charg'd, by their care and industry, they put the whole business into such a way, not only doing their best endeavours to have sent over the Forces that should have gone out of the Army, but sending over others also, as Colonel *Jones*, and those Regiments which went to *Dublin*, and supplying the best they could my Lord *Inchiqueen*, and those Forces which were there before, with such necessaries as they could provide, that by the blessing of God the foundation was laid for all the good which has since

befallen that Kingdom, and for the great advantages which those gallant Men have gotten upon the Rebels, notwithstanding the little assistance they have since receiv'd; having, in truth, been rather hinder'd than help'd; for every body knows the malice which is born them by that Party which now bears sway, what discouragements my Lord *Inchiquen* has labour'd under; and the small regard had of Colonel *Jones*. Yet they have subsisted, and not only preserv'd but advanc'd very much the English Interest, with Honour to themselves, and shame to these unworthy Men who are so little sensible of the conditions of the poor Protestants there, preferring their particular revenge and prosecution of their damnable End before all that is of Honour and Justice, and either of duty to God and their Country, or compassion to their distressed Brethren.

80. The Officers in the mean time play their parts below in the Army, they had already engag'd the Soldiers to stand upon Pay, an Act of Indemnity, and some other Immunities, plausible things to make them all of a piece, enter into a kind of a league and combination one with another; and so become fit to receive any other impression, and unite upon it: Therefore now they go a step further, to incense them against the

Parliament, misrepresenting all passages and proceedings to them, as if the intention were to force them for *Ireland*, and therefore starve them or dismiss them with shame, and expose them to question and trouble for what they had done in the Wars; so engaging them to persist upon their demands in that Petition, and ask reparation of the Parliament for wrong done them by the Commissioners sent down for the business of *Ireland*, and other Members of the House, whom they had characteriz'd to be Enemies to the Army, whereby they put them into such a distemper, as all thoughts of duty and obedience were cast off, nothing so odious as the Parliament, nothing would satisfy but revenge.

81. When they had wrought the Heat, Sir Thomas Fairfax himself came to London upon pretence of taking Physick; Cromwell, Ireton, Fleetwood, Rainsborough, who were Members of the House of Commons as well as principal Officers of the Army, keep the House, that the Soldiers might be left to themselves to fire the more, run up to extremes, and put themselves into a posture to carry on their work of Rebellion with a high and violent hand, which had been so handsomly done: for either they must have appear'd in it and join'd with the Soldiers, which had been too gross, or have stop'd it

in the beginning, crush'd the Serpent in the Egg, which had been most easie, but was contrary to their design. So now they give the business time to foment, and the Rebellion to grow to some head, that afterwards when they should come amongst them (for they could not but expect the Parliament would send them down) they might seem to be carry'd with the violence, and to give some way for preventing greater inconveniences, and to keep them from extremities till the Monster was form'd, and got to that strength as to protect it self and them, when they might without danger declare for it, which they afterwards did. In the mean time disclaiming it, blaming the Soldiers at that distance (as *Cromwel* did openly in the House, protesting, for his part, he would stick to the Parliament) whilst underhand they sent them encouragements and directions; for nothing was done there, but by advice and countenance from *London*, where the whole business was so laid, the Rebellion resolv'd upon, and the Officers that were in town so deeply engag'd, that when the full time was come for putting things in execution, my friend *Cromwel*, who had been sent down by the Parliament to do good Offices, was come up again without doing any, and he who had made those solemn publick Protestations with some

Great Imprecations on himself if he fail'd in his performance, did, notwithstanding, privately convey thence his Goods (which many of the Independents likewise did, leaving City and Parliament as mark'd out for destruction) and then without leave of the House (after some Members missing him and fearing him gone, had mov'd to have him sent for; whereupon he being, as it seems, not yet gone, and having notice of it, came and shew'd himself a little in the House) did steal away that evening, I may say run away post down to the Army, and presently join in the Subscription of a rebellious Letter, whereof I shall speak anon. But let him take heed those Imprecations fall not upon him, which many times God remembers, and takes Men at their word, meeting with them in their dissembling wishes, when themselves least think of them, perhaps have forgot that ever they made them. This by the way.

82. For the present the thing pitch'd upon was to set up a kind of Council (like the supreme Council of the Irish Rebels, but that those were most of them persons of birth and degree, these *ex face populi*) under the name of Agitators. Two (as I take it) were chosen out of every Regiment, at first, I think, but common Soldiers (tho afterwards some Officers were

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added) to transact this business. These now, forsooth, seem to acknowledge no Officer, but to rule and dispose of all things as they think good. They take into consideration what is fit to be done, what not, and give their orders accordingly, examine and censure the Orders and Votes of Parliament, receive all Complaints, give the redress, send out their Warrants and Commands, write their Letters, exercise a general power over all, set up a new form of Government in the Army, and in the end are instrumental to their Masters to possess themselves of his Majesty's Person, subdue Parliament, City, and Kingdom, and be reveng'd upon all those who had formerly given any disturbance to the carrying on of their design, till such time as the work was done which they had set them to do. But then Mr. Cromwel and his Officers could give a stop to their proceedings. And when the Agitators thought to do as formerly, and finish'd what they were made to believe should be the Catastrophe of their Tragedy, which was the destruction of the King, and alteration of the Government, Councils not being at that time so dispos'd, nor the time ripe for the execution, they soon found their Locks were cut, and (the influence of their Superiors ceasing) their strength fail'd, so as they brought but confusion to themselves.

selves; three of the chief were condemn'd to die for mutiny, but *Cromwel* being a merciful Prince would take but one, who was shot to death, the rest reduced to subjection and obedience, their Council Table dissolved, and their Castles in the Air vanish'd to smok. But these things fell out long after, for a time they triumph, act all, drive on the design; *Cromwel* and his fellows standing behind the Curtain, laught in their sleeves, and pleas'd themselves to see the Game which they had packt, play so well.

83. The first Act of these new Rulers, was a Letter sent to their three principal Officers, who were then in *London*, and innocent persons, God knows, knew nothing of all this, *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, and Serjeant Major General *Skippon*. For this last, to do him right, I think that at that time he was innocent indeed; but afterwards I must avow it, he, together with the help of Mr. *Marshall* a Minister, contributed more to the success of their Villanies, betraying the Parliament and City into their hands, than all that *Cromwel*, the Solicitor, *Ireton*, and the rest of the Crew did or could do, and no question will be sufficiently rewarded for it by them; for they are good at it to pay dear out of the publick Store for any man's Conscience that will be sold, and may be useful to them.

84. This Letter was an exclamation against the Parliament, false and untrue Complaints of wrongs done to the Soldiers at Assizes in the Counties, a protestation against the Irish Expedition, calling it a design to break the Army, declaring if any of these three Commanders should engage, their averseness to it (tho one of them, *Skippon*, was by the Parliament appointed, and had accepted it) in plain English saying they would not disband, nor receive any other propositions from the Parliament till their expectations were satisfy'd. Three of the Agitators brought it, and *Skippon* acquainted the House with it; they were sent for, and carry'd themselves at the Bar in a slighting braving manner, refusing to answer such questions as the Speaker, by order of the House, ask'd them; saying they were employ'd by the Army, and could not without leave from thence discover any thing. Many the House resenting this high affront, were earnest to have them severely punish'd; but that Party stood as stiffly for them, insomuch that the worthy Burgesses of *Newcastle*, *Mr. Warmworth*, stood up and said he would have them committed indeed, but it should be to the best Inn of the Town, and good Sack and Sugar provided them, which was as ridiculous, as 'twas a bold and insolent scorn put upon the Parliament; at last even
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Mr. *Skippon* himself excused them, said they were honest Men, and wisht they might not be too severely dealt with: whereupon the House flatted, let them go without punishment, and by tameness encreas'd their madness and presumption. Whereas had they serv'd them as Mr. *Cromwel* afterwards did their fellows, hang'd one of them (they all well deserving it) it might probably have given a stop to their Career, and prevented a great deal of mischief, which has since befallen the Kingdom by their means.

85. All that we did (whether it was Fate or Design I know not, but it prov'd our Ruin) was to command down to the Army the Officers that were Members of the House, such as were in town, and the General himself. I say, I know not if there were a design in it; because afterwards upon just such another occasion, we sent Sir *Henry Vane* the younger, Mr. *Scawen*, and some others, which I am sure was a thing laid; and this wrought the same effect as that did, even put them together the better to contrive and lay their business, joining the counsels of the Officers to the actings of the Agitators, so to hatch that horrid Rebellion which soon after broke out, to the utter ruin (if God's hand of mercy interpose not) of Parliament and Kingdom. They were sent to allay the distempers, and to prevent in-

inconveniencies, but how they discharg'd that trust will soon appear.

86. Instead of discountenancing, reproving, and suppressing that disposition to mutiny, that standing upon terms with the Parliament, those Meetings and Consultations by which the ill humour was nourish'd, and instead of perswading them to a fitting obedience and submission, and laying the Regiments farther asunder to lessen and abate the contagion, they gave them occasion to encrease their distempers and vent them, by asking them what they will have, calling the Officers together, and sending them to their several Regiments to be inform'd of their designs; and by drawing them together already so indispos'd and inflam'd, inflame them the more. A strange way of quieting an Army that was in a way to Rebellion, and had begun to set up a new Government amongst themselves by their Agitators, which sped accordingly, and produced the effect that they desir'd, a representation of Grievances, in which the whole Army now join'd and engag'd, except some few gallant Men, both Officers and Soldiers, who detested those proceedings.

87. This Representation is brought up to the House by Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, and Colonel *Fleetwood*, who had the faces to say (just as the Representation begins) That
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the Army was quiet and free from any visible distemper, which was only to amuse us. But then it expostulates with the Parliament the making of the foremention'd Declaration, sending for up and questioning those persons who had been complain'd of for obstructing the Service of *Ireland*, justifies them, taxes the Commissioners of Parliament, and other Members of the House, for doing ill offices to the Army, stands upon all the particulars of the first Petition.

88. The House was very much dissatisfy'd with these proceedings, and if ever it deny'd it self, did it then: for it was willing to give the Army satisfaction in all things possible, to free the Kingdom of that burden, even dispensing with their own Honours.

89. They pass several Ordinances for Indemnity, freeing from pressing the relief of maim'd Soldiers, Widows, and Orphans, with such alterations and amendments as the Army desir'd. Concerning the proposition of Pay upon disbanding, which was eight weeks, they conceiv'd it could not be enlarg'd, in regard of the great present expence to which they were necessitated for the supply of *Ireland*; That the two hundred thousand Pounds, which for those two occasions were then borrow'd of the City of *London*, would scarce serve.

90. Therefore upon these terms both Houses concluded the disbanding, begin with the Foot, and appoint to every Regiment, as they lay quarter'd, a Rendezvous at some Town near, where they were to lay down their Arms, receive their Money, and have Passes to their several homes. Those that would engage for *Ireland* to march to some other place near hand, there to receive Advance-money and further Orders.

91. The several Ordinances and Orders were sent to *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, who then had his head quarters at *Bury*; and two Lords and four Commoners were appointed Commissioners to repair to the several places appointed for disbanding, with Money, and directions to see the Service perform'd, and assist *Sir Thomas Fairfax* in it, who was desir'd to issue out his Orders for the Regiments drawing to those places.

92. Then it was refer'd to a Committee of the Army to put into a way, the settling of the Accounts, both of Officers and Soldiers; and where more than two Months appear'd to be due, the Commission Officer was to receive his Debenture from the Committee and Treasurer of the Army, it being appointed where he should be paid. The Inferior Officer and common Soldier was to have his security upon the Excise.

cise. Let any Man now judg if the Army had any cause to complain, if all was not done that with any colour of reason and modesty could be expected.

93. Our Commissioners, who were the Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *De la Ware*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, Mr. *Grinston*, and two others, went to *Chelmsford* the first of *June*, the Rendezvous appointed for the General's Regiment, whither the Lieutenant Colonel came, Lieutenant Colonel *Jackson*, an honest and gallant Man, with a resolution to conform to the Order of Parliament; but a Command comes from the General to the Regiment to march another way for drawing the Quarter near together.

94. For upon the 29th of *May*, when the Votes were sending down for disbanding, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* had call'd a Council of War of the factious Officers (the honest Officers who were for submitting to the Parliament, and a quiet disbanding, having before been most of them abus'd, and forc'd away by the violence of the Soldiers and commands of the Agitators, he conniving at it) where they resolve upon an humble Advice to his Excellency, That since their Grievances were not at all satisfy'd, and Jealousies were very great, it would not be safe to disband, but rather draw the Army into a close posture (there being a great
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propensity in the Soldiers to a general Rendezvous) and then resume the consideration of their Grievances, and of the Votes for disbanding, suspending, for the present any proceedings upon these Votes; which advice his Excellency follows. So the Parliament commands to disband, Sir *Thomas* to march away, and draw to a Rendezvous: Fit he should be obey'd.

95. At the very same time Colonel *Rainborough* dos the like with his Regiment which was at *Petersfield* in *Hampshire*, design'd for *Jersey*, and so far upon the way, himself being attending the House of Commons, of which he was a Member, and pretending to prepare for that Employment which had been entrusted to him; but in truth to give his Soldiers opportunity to mutiny, as the rest of the Army did; who, to give them more time for it, would not presently acquaint the House with the Intelligence he had receiv'd of their disorder, but having it in the morning kept it to himself till towards the evening, even denying his knowledg of any such thing, when Sir *William Lewis* inform'd the House of it, and about five or six a Clock in the Afternoon (the House then by accident sitting, as these deportments of the Army gave them cause sufficient) spoke of it, said they were in a great distemper, resolv'd not to march to
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the Sea side, but return to *Oxford*; where upon being sent down to quiet them, and reduce them to obedience, he went immediately, but put himself at the head of them, and instead of taking care for *Jersey*, march'd to *Oxford* first, so to the Army; and none more violent in the Rebellion than he: for which good Service, and joyning with the Agitators in their highest exorbitancies for the destruction of the King and altering of Government, and particularly in a Petition for taking away the House of Lords, the House of Commons since made him Vice Admiral. And the Lords, to the eternizing the honour for their gentle tame dispositions, consented.

96. But one thing was yet wanting (as they thought) for the carrying on their Design, and amusing the poor people of *England* with an expectation of their settling a Peace, so to make them sit still and look on, whilst they trampled upon Parliament, City and Kingdom, which was to be posselt of the King's Person, and make the world believe they would bring him up to his Parliament, and set him on his Throne. For this it seems a meeting was appointed at Lieutenant General *Cromwell's*, upon the thirtieth of May, where it is resolv'd, That Cornet *Joyce* should, with a Party of Horse, go to *Holmbury* and seize upon his Majesty, which

is presently executed, and given out, that others had the like design, which they had prevented. At first it must seem only to be the act of Mr. *Joyce*, *Cromwel* protested he knew nothing of it (tho he was the Man appointed it to be done, as appears by what has been recited, taken out of some of their own Authors, one that calls himself *Sirrah Niho*, and others) *Sir Thomas Fairfax* writes a Letter to the House, professes the same for himself as in the presence of God, with a large undertaking for the rest of his Officers, and the body of the Army. And perhaps he said true, I would fain be so charitable as to believe it ; nor indeed do I think the good Man is privy to all their Plots, he must have no more than what they are pleas'd to carve and chew for him, but must swallow all, and own them when they come abroad. Here then they have the King, *Joyce* drives away the Guards, forc'd Colonel *Greaves* to fly, whom else they threaten'd to kill, for no man's life must stand in their way (Murder being no Sin in the visible Saints) carries away his Majesty and the Commissioners that attend him Prisoners, and immediately sends up a Letter to certify what he had done, with directions it should be deliver'd to *Cromwel*, and he absent, to Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, or Colonel *Fleetwood*, which was given to Colonel *Fleetwood*, as one Lieute-

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nant *Markham* inform'd the House, saying, the Messenger that brought it told him so : nor did Sir *Arthur Haslerig* make a clear answer when he was ask'd concerning it in the House, Colonel *Fleetwood* being at that time gone to the Army, so as he could not be examin'd.

97. By this trick they hope to catch the people, and so find no resistance to their traiterous proceedings ; yet they will not trust only to Jugling, they will play a sure Game, and have power in their hands to go through the work, and make their way if it will not be given. Therefore the Army must be put into a posture for it, they have the Soldiers already, they must have Artillery and Ammunition ; so at the same meeting *Cromwel* likewise appoints *Joyce* (as the same Authors relate) to repair to *Oxford*, secure that Garison, the Magazine and Train of Artillery which had there lain many Months, the Army having had nothing to do, and so no use for it, which therefore the Parliament had then order'd to be remov'd and brought back to the Tower, the place where all Stores are kept. But those who were sent down by the Parliament for that purpose, were by these Mutineers beaten and wounded, the Magazine and Train kept away by force, and besides, some 3 or 4000 *l.* in Money taken from them,

them, which they had carry'd down for disbanding of the Regiment there in Garifon. And now they think they have all in their own hands, the Fish is catcht, they may throw away the Net. They begin therefore to appear in their own Colours; *Cromwel*, *Ireton*, with the rest of the Cabal, and *Sir Thomas Fairfax* in the last place (who, tho he be General, is not to lead, but will be sure to follow close) may not lay aside their innocency and their ignorance (for all this while they knew nothing) and put themselves in the head of the Agitators, own all they have done, and at *Triploe Heath*, near *Cambridg*, appoint a general Rendezvous, there to declare themselves, and avowedly enter into the Confederacy.

96. At this Rendezvous was fram'd that solemn Engagement, wherein, they say, they look upon the resolutions of the Parliament for their disbanding, as proceeding from malicious and mischievous Principles and Intentions, and not without carnal and bloody purposes. That therefore they are resolv'd not to appear at the places thereto appointed, and then declare, agree, and promise to and with each other, That till they have such satisfaction in all their Grievances, and such security for the future as shall be agreed on at a Council, consisting of the general Officers, with two Commission Of-

ficers and two Soldiers to be chosen for each Regiment, they will not disband or divide, nor suffer themselves to be disbanded or divided. And this is one result of that meeting of the godly obedient Army, this the fruit of the new Model, and of all the great undertakings of that man of God (as his Disciples call'd him) Lieutenant General *Cromwel* in their behalf.

99. They likewise frame there another submissive business, which they call'd an humble Representation of the dissatisfaction of the Army, in relation to the late resolution for so sudden disbanding, where they are more large in their humble cudgeling of the Parliament, and do it to that purpose, with a scorn of all that had been offer'd to their satisfaction, say, The private Soldiers will not regard what is behind of Pay after disbanding, implying all must be had, require further security for the Officers Arrears, as Forest Lands, and the revenues of Cathedrals, quarrel with the ordinances past for Indemnity, exemption from Pressing, &c. expostulate about the Declaration against their seditious Petition yet standing in force, demand reparation for questioning their mutinous Officers, and will have it against those Members of the House who had done but their duty, and discharg'd their Consciences in that particular, declare plain-

plainly, That tho all their Grievances were duly consider'd, it were nothing except those persons were censur'd, calling them Men of desperate Principles, Incendiaries, that must not continue to be their Judges, that is, must not sit in Parliament, and much more of this nature, which in contempt they send up to the House. These are they that fight for privilege of Parliament, who have made a Covenant with God and Man so to do, and well they perform it; those they mislike must be thrust out by head and shoulders, and such as remain, if they be not obedient to them, shall be serv'd with the same sauce: And this is to make a free Parliament. Was there ever a more perfidious breach of Duty, did Rebellion it self ever outdo it, can any Man think? Yet let us go a little further with them, and we shall see greater abominations than these.

100. All this while they seem'd to desire only things concerning themselves, tho very unfittingly and wickedly, both for matter and manner; yet not to meddle with any thing else concerning settling the business of the Kingdom, which in many Messages and Declarations they still protest-ed against, saying (as Sir Thomas Fairfax wrote up from *Cambridg*) That whatever was suggested or suspected, they would leave all such matters to the wisdom of the

Parliament, But now *Tempora mutantur*, they have power in their hands, and the Kingdom shall feel it; the Parliament shall not only give them what they will have, but do what they will have done, or smart for it. They make the world believe they will set the King on his Throne and in his Rights, the People in their Liberties, the Parliament in its Duty, and a Golden Age is like to follow.

101. To this end they march up in a hostile way towards *London*, bring his Majesty along with them from *Royston*. Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, *Cromwel*, *Ireton*, and the rest of the Officers, write a Letter to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, telling them, That the sum of what they have desir'd of the Parliament, is a satisfaction to their demands as Soldiers, a reparation upon those that have improv'd advantages (as they falsely say) by false suggestions and misrepresentations to the destruction of the Army, and endeavour'd to engage the Kingdom in a new War. That the things they insist upon as English Men, are a settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom, and of the Liberties of the Subject, which they say they have as much right to demand as their Money, or other common Interest of Soldiers, and that the honest People of *England* are full of the sense of Ruin and Misery,

fery, should they disband before. That for the obtaining of these things, they are drawing near the City, and declare, That if the City appear not against them, nor provoke them, they will give no offence; but if they do, they call God to witness they are free, and have wash'd off the Ruin which will befall it: that they will lose all rather than not be righted of the Men they aim at, therefore desire, that like fellow Subjects and Brethren, the Citizens would sollicite the Parliament in their behaf.

102. Here they first take upon them openly to intermeddle with the business of the Kingdom, contrary to all the former Declarations and Protestations; but their words nor yet their vows were ever any rule to know their meaning by: as *Hammond* told the King concerning *Cromwel*, so is it with all those visible Saints, have they promis'd, vow'd, sworn never so much, call'd God and Man to witness, if the condition of their Catholick Cause so alter, that what they have so promis'd and sworn be no longer expedient for them, a pretended Enthusiasm, a new Light shall give a dispensation, and they will do clean contrary, yet all out of tenderness of Conscience; well, they are now in strength and power, and will make use of it to turn all upside down.

103. The poor Parliament all this while is sitting upon addle Eggs, take a great deal of pains, like Children, to build Castles of Cards, a puff from their faithful Army blows it all down. It is true, that at first, upon return of their Commissioners, who were sent down to disband, and had brought them an account of the scorn put upon them, how instead of the Regiments coming to the Rendezvous appointed, a Command from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* fetch'd them clear another away; how the train of Artillery was seiz'd upon at *Oxford*, the Money which should have disbanded a Regiment taken away by force, and the Servants whom they had employ'd, beaten and wounded; this did with good reason startle them; many of the Members express'd a sharp and severe Sense of it; the House was taking vigorous and honourable Resolutions, tho' oppos'd with might and main by all the Independent Party, who prevail'd but little, being now a known engag'd Faction, till Sergeant Major General *Skippon* stood up, a Presbyterian, one who had seem'd to dislike those factious ways before his last going down to the Army, who was nominated Commander in chief for the Irish Expedition, had receiv'd a gift of a thousand Pounds by way of encouragement to go, but now was willing enough to stay at home with

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it; he, forsooth, in a grave way, with a doleful Countenance, and lamentable Voice, makes a long Speech to exhort to moderation, and to bear with the Infirmities of a zealous conscientious Army which had done so much good Service. Therefore it was his opinion we should humble our selves before God, appoint a day of Fasting, and do those things which the Army desir'd, give them their full Pay, alter the Ordinance according as they propos'd, and he was perswaded in his Conscience they would then be satisfy'd; however they were not to be provok'd, for they were a form'd Body which would be upon us before we were aware. This knockt us on the head, especially his last Argument, a demonstration $\tau\tilde{\sigma}\ \sigma\pi$; so it is, they are strong, they will fall upon you; timorous Men, as he knew many of those were he had to deal with, could make no reply to it.

104. But had he done his duty, given warning of those preparations and intentions sooner, when he was below with the Army so long, and could not choose but discern it, the House would not have been so surpris'd, would have provided against it in time, but now fear took away the use of reason. They look'd upon the Army as even at their doors, *Hannibal ad portas*, and all of them Children of *Anak*, armed Giants not to be resisted.

105. Whereas in truth there was no such cause of fear. As they in the Army had more Cause carrying about them so much guilt, as I am confident they had as great a share of apprehension. But they presum'd upon their Agents among us, they knew we had them with us both in Parliament and City who would betray us, possess'd with the like evil Spirit as *Ahab's* Prophets were; we should prevail, otherwise we were not in so despicable a condition. The Parliament had not yet utterly lost their reputation, the Image of Authority was not wholly defaced in them, they had a stock intire and untoucht of 200000 *l.* provided for disbanding the Army, and service of *Ireland*, multitude of Officers and gallant Soldiers about the Town, who had always fought gallantly, and obey'd readily, had little reason to be in love with the Army which had unhors'd them, so it is likely would have engag'd chearfully and done good service. The City was high in the opinion of the People for courage and resolution, firmness to the Parliament, zeal in the Cause, hatred of Independency, dislike of the Army, and a Purse to make all good, give Sinews and Strength to that side with which they should close, and had particularly presented many Petitions to the House for those very things which they were doing, and the Army only came to undo;

do ; which were in order to a Peace, restoring the King, settling the Government both in Church and State, and giving ease and quietness to the Kingdom, so as they were in truth already engag'd with us, and waited but a Summons to declare themselves, when by this unfortunate Man's interposition at that time (to whom chiefly and to his Chaplain *Marshall*, we must attribute all the Evil that has since befallen King and Kingdom) all was dashed ; instead of a generous resistance to the insolencies of perfidious Servants, vindicating the honour of the Parliament, discharging the trust that lay upon them to preserve a poor People from being ruin'd and enslav'd to a rebellious Army, they deliver up themselves and Kingdom to the will of their Enemies, prostitute all to the Lust of heady and violent Men, suffer Mr. *Cromwel* to saddle, ride, switch, and spur them at his pleasure.

106. For we instantly fell as low as dirt, vote the common Soldier his full Pay, the Officers a Month more (that is in all three Months) upon disbanding or engaging for *Ireland*, take all our Ordinances in pieces, change and alter them according to their minds, and (which is worst of all) expunge our Declaration against that mutinous Petition, cry *Peccavimus* to save a whipping, but all would not do.

107. Inſo much that when our Commiſſioners were ſent down to the Army at *Triplo* Heath, to give an account of our dutiful compliance, they would not vouchſafe to hear them, but when they offer'd to read the Votes, cry out, Juſtice, Juſtice, a Note that *Cromwel* and *Ireton* had taught them to ſing, being done by their directions, as ſome of their own Diſciples falling out with them, have ſince diſcover'd; which was by *Mr. Scawen*, who was one of thoſe were ſent, reported back to the Houſe, in ſuch a gaſtly fearful manner (only to terrifie us and make us more ſupple) he ſaying, the Army was ſo ſtrong, ſo unanimous, ſo reſolv'd, as the poor Presbyterian's hearts fell an Inch lower, and the Independents made themſelves merry with it. Then forſooth the Houſes muſt ſend down Members to abide with the Army as with a Power independent, or a third Eſtate, improve all advantages and opportunities, to give good impreſſions of the actions and intentions of the poor Parliament, and, like *Benhadad's* Servants, catch at any thing of comfort which might fall; theſe were Sir *Henry Vane* the younger, Serjeant Major General *Skippon*, *Mr. Scawen*, and *Mr. Povey*.

108. In the mean time the Army is marching, draws nearer and nearer to the City, where, as well as in the Parliament, Men were

were between hopes and fears; looking upon what was done sufficient to appease them, what then offer'd, what they always intended for doing right to the Army; and in truth to all persons, they could not but hope as well. But seeing the postures and proceedings of the other side, there was more cause of fear, till at last that Letter came to the City of which I spoke before, which satisfy'd our doubtings; and when the Citizens who were sent from the Common Council brought it to the Parliament, the horror and indignation of such an Impiety, so great a Presumption, so manifest a Rebellion, awaken'd us to see our danger, and master'd those fears which had been given us to awe us from resistance, so as both Houses and City resolv'd to put themselves in a posture of defence, appointed a Committee of Lords and Commons to go into the City, call the Committee of the Militia of *London* to them, and jointly and severally do what was necessary for our common safety.

109. The Committee went and did their parts, but they found *Joab's* hand every where; the Army had so plaid *Absalom*, pretending an intention to settle Peace immediately, correct the exorbitances with which the people had been oppress'd and abus'd, restore the King, with such other plausible things; and their Agents had so industriously

ously improv'd their Interests, some false Brothers in the City, as Alderman *Foulks*, and Alderman *Gibbs*, so cunningly wrought upon mens Minds, sometimes upon their Fears, setting out the strength and power of the Army, which threaten'd nothing but ruin; sometimes upon their hopes and desires of Peace, gilding over their proceedings, as all done in order to it; sometimes upon the dislike of the present condition, assuring them all Taxes and Payments would by this means be taken off; sometimes upon their credulity, making them believe, that those Persons whom the Army had in their eyes to remove, were not so well affected to the publick, but had particular Ends and Designs of their own, to arm Reformadoes, and set up the power of another Sword to rule and govern by, so to continue the Miseries and Burdens of the People: by which Falshoods and Juglings, those two chiefly, like *Jannes* and *Jambres*, had generally bewitcht the City, and lull'd it into a security, withstanding those who had no other thought than to deliver their Brethren and themselves from that subjection and vassalage to which they were then design'd, and are since brought. As the Citizens resolv'd not to stir, but look'd on to see what this Army would do; some few did appear, rather to make objection and hinder
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the business than help it; and tho many good orders were made for putting the City into a posture to defend it self, none were obey'd: so on all hands the poor Parliament, and Kingdom, and City it self were betray'd, and left to the mercy of the Army, whose mercy we shall soon see was Cruelty it self, Injustice, Oppression, Violence, and Rebellion in the highest degree.

110. They now thunder upon us with Remonstrances, Declarations, Letters; and Messages every day, commanding one day one thing, next day another, making us vote and unvote, do and undo; and when they had made us do some ugly thing, jeer us, and say, our doing justifies their desiring it, as they serv'd us concerning all we had granted for Pay, expunging our Declaration, passing the Ordinances for Indemnity against Pressing, and the like. They tell us in their Representation of the 14th of *June*, That our resuming the consideration of these things, as to their further satisfaction, dos much justifie their desires and proceedings so far; and therefore they then proceed further, and say, They desire full and equal satisfaction, not only for themselves, but for all the Soldiery throughout the Kingdom, who have concurr'd or will concur with them; so engage all against the Parliament, and contract such a debt as
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has broken the back of the Commonwealth, and now say they are not a mercenary Army to serve the arbitrary power of the State, but that they took up Arms in Judgment and Conscience (notwithstanding they have receiv'd more Pay than all the Armies in the Kingdom, and yet liv'd most of Spoil and free Quarter) therefore they are resolv'd to assert and vindicate the power and rights of the Kingdom, and say, That what they do is short of the proceedings of other Nations, to things of a higher nature than as yet they had pretended to, instancing in the *Netherlands* and *Scotland*. For the present they require, that the Houses be purg'd, those who have appear'd against them not to be theirs and the Kingdom's Judges, whose names they say they will speedily give in; they tell the Parliament what kind of Men they will have preferr'd to power and trust in the Commonwealth; then (which was a Crime some six weeks before, to move in Parliament and in a Parliamentary way, so as that sagacious Gentleman Mr *Gurden*, stood up in a rage, and said it smelt of *Oxford*, and it was much decry'd by all the Crew, but is now of publick merit, and very pious, coming from their Masters the Army) they will have a determinate period of time set to this Parliament, some provision to be made for the con-

continuance of future Parliaments. And when his Majesty shall have given his Concurrence to these and all other things that shall be propos'd for the liberties of the People, the Militia, and peace of the Kingdom, then his Rights and of his Posterity to be consider'd. They will have the Rights of the People clear'd for freedom of Petitioning, and such as are imprison'd for pretended Misdemeanours to be speedily try'd, and have reparations if they have suffer'd wrongfully; the power given to Committees, and deputy Lieutenants to be taken into consideration. The Kingdom to be publickly satisfy'd in point of Accounts, and after publick Justice done upon some of the excepted Persons, that there be an Act of Oblivion. Then they conclude that these things done, tho there be many other particulars, yet (which certainly was merely out of their great goodness and grace, like that of the modest Spaniard with his *no quiero mas*) they will ask no more, but leave the rest to the wisdom and justice of the Parliament; and this they say they find to be the concurrent sense of the People, by their Petitions presented to the General, wherein (as in all the rest) they play the arrant Impostors and Mountebanks, being as impudent, false, cunning, bloody, proud, and ambitious as the Devil himself, their grand Master.

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They will have us believe the Sense of the People joyn'd with them, and that they petition'd for these things; when their own fellow Witches have since discover'd how *Cromwel* himself drew those Petitions, sent them about into the Countries, had his Agents to promote them with mellifluous enamouring promises (as the expression is) so got some Independents to subscribe them, and perhaps some few more that they had cozen'd; which serv'd the turn, and made their wise General engage himself with them, saying, That what he wanted in expression of his devotion to their Service, should be supply'd in action, as Mr. *John Lawmind* informs in his *Putney* Projects.

III. The Parliament is now brought to a fine pass, made a notable free Parliament, but we must believe it to be so, because *Cromwel's* Army says it, and speed as well as our first Parents believing the Serpent, that told them eating the Apple would make them as Gods, wise, and happy. The Army on the other side triumphs, drives on like *Jehu*, bears down all before it, carries about the King as a Prisoner to shew him, and make that use of him, which the *Philistines* would have done with the Ark, prevail against all opposition; and truly that and their power together did make them prevail.

112. Their next work is, charging eleven Persons, Members of the House of Commons, particularly by name, but with general things; for particulars they were not provided with, as their friend *John Lam- mind* says, who uses these words, the particular matter of their Charge was to seek after they had in general charg'd them: And another of their Disciples, *Sirrah Nicó*, says, That *Cromwel* confess'd at *Colebrook*, he had nothing against Sir *John Maynard*; yet he must be put in amongst the rest, only because he was a busie Man against him and his faction; so you see these Thieves falling out some truth comes to light:

113. With this general Charge there comes another Paper from his Excellency and the Army under his Command, requiring the Members impeach'd may be forthwith suspended sitting in the House, and a months Pay to be immediately sent down to the Army for a present supply; and of these things to know the resolution by the next Thursday at the furthest, which was within two days. They require further, That the Officers who had deserted the Army (as they call'd it, but in truth who had left them for their Rebellion, and engag'd for *Ireland*) should have no more of their Arrears paid them till the Army was first satisfy'd: And to be sure the Parlia-

ment should have none to defend them, They command them to raise no new Forces within the Kingdom, nor invite, nor admit any from other parts; the reason, or at least the colour for this was, because the Committee of Safety, at such a time as in obedience to the Order of Parliament they had endeavour'd to have put the City in a condition to defend the Parliament and it self, had consider'd of raising some Force, but never any thing was put in execution, nor one Man list'd: And tho the Parliament and City did assure them there was no proceeding in it, which they might then very likely believe, and in good manners have acquiesc'd, yet such was either their fear, by reason of guilt, or their scorn of the Parliament, and petulancy to shew how they slighted what they said or declar'd, as they would not believe them, but threap them down that there was lifting still, and quarrel with them about it, to such a height were they then grown, and others to that tameness.

114. This pass'd about the 15th of June. The House took these things into consideration, obey'd in all but that concerning the Members; wherein they came to a resolution, That upon such a general Charge they could not in Justice proceed against them, nor suspend them, therefore desire to know what

what they could charge them with in particular. They further consider'd how unhandsome it was, the King should be so hurry'd up and down with the Army, and that if he were at some of his own Houses near *London*, application might be made to him jointly by them and the Scottish Commissioners, in order to Peace; whereupon, tho it was mightily oppos'd by the Independent Party, yet they voted his Majesty should be desir'd to come to his Mannor House at *Richmond*.

115. Here the Scholars had broken out a little into rebellion against their Schoolmasters the Army, and soon they were lash'd for it. For on the 23^d of *June* comes a ratling Lesson, a Remonstrance from his Excellency, full of sharp and scoffing Expressions, and ends with a lusty Menace, tells them, The voting of the King to *Richmond* is but in pursuance of the former design upon him at *Holmby*, and to put his Majesty within the reach of those Men, who had already list'd considerable numbers of Horse and Foot about *London*; therefore wishes them, as they tender the welfare of the Kingdom, and the avoiding of jealousies and other inconveniencies in the Army, to resume again the consideration of that business, and not propose any place for him nearer *London* than they would have the head Quarters of

the Army : then to ingratiate themselves with the King and his Party, and make him willing to stay with them (till their design was ripe to dispose of him otherwise, as it was afterwards) they take notice of some scandalous information, by the procurement forsooth of eleven Members and others of their Party, as if his Majesty were kept a Prisoner among them, which they say is most false and contrary to their Principles (as has appear'd since by what Sir Thomas Fairfax commanded to be done to the King in the Isle of *Wight*, upon his Majesty's answer to the four Bills, without order of Parliament, like a great Prince, *Ex mero motu & certa scientia*, tho it was afterwards approv'd of and justify'd *Ex parte post*) but as yet they are harmless Saints and good Subjects, all for the King. Therefore they take occasion to declare there, That they desire a just freedom for his Majesty and those of his Party, and profess they do not see how there can be a firm Peace, without a due consideration of and provision for the Rights of himself, his Royal Family and late Partakers. O ye Hypocrites, then with Honey for him in their Mouths, and War in their Hearts !

116. For the expunging of the Declaration, they say, they acknowledg the Justice of the House in it, but should rather have been

been satisfi'd with the Parliaments declaring how and by whom they had been misinform'd and surpriz'd, and that it is an apparent dishonour to them to pass such a Declaration, and soon after without alteration in the pretended ground and cause of it (for shame of the world) to expunge it: I confess they say true in this, but the old Proverb is, true Jest is bitter Jest.

117. Then for the Members, they insist to have them forthwith suspended upon the general Charge, saying, they would willingly proceed to particulars, if they might be encourag'd by the Justice of the House for suspending them for what it self knows, as having been done there, which they say they cannot prove without breaking the privileges of Parliament: Therefore they advise a necessary expedient for prevention of the like for the future, That in the House of Commons dissenting Members may enter their Dissent, as they do in the House of Peers, with a Protestation, and say, They offer these things from their good wishes to the privileges of Parliament, to render them more lasting by being more innocent.

118. Was ever Parliament so abus'd? First, they must, because the Army will have it so, give a Judgment upon persons before they know any fault by them, only to encourage their accusers to tell the fault,

for which that Judgment is already given ; first punish, then enquire ; *Hallifax* Law, and Army Justice. And this no less than of suspension, where not only the Parties themselves have a mark of ignominy put upon'em, are dispossess'd of the execution of that Trust which their Country has repos'd in them, but the places they serve for, Towns and Counties are punish'd, depriv'd of their Representatives in Parliament, and consequently of their suffrages there which they give by them. Then what must this be for ? even for what was done and said in the House (for so it is laid) contrary to all proceedings and privileges of Parliament, which will have no man question'd for that afterwards ; upon this ground, That if he had done amiss, the House would at that time have checkt it ; and they not finding fault then, for any other to do it, must needs reflect upon their Wisdom and Integrity, as if they approv'd of what was ill, or could not discern it. And lastly, for my young Masters to jeer them with their good wishes to have their privileges less nocent, and then dare to propound so great an alteration in the very fundamental constitution of the House of Commons, where the minor part is involv'd in the major, and both make but one intire Agent in all they do, where there is no particularizing of persons, not any one

one Member to be so much as nam'd, where all is acted as by one Man, that which must bind the whole Kingdom to be establish'd by the united consent of it, there to make such a rent and division as to introduce dissenting Protestations, only to soment Faction and Parties, and by troubling the Fountain, to corrupt all the Streams, is the most transcending presumption that ever was heard of.

119. But that which in my opinion carry'd most of injustice in it self, and dishonour to the Parliament, was the requiring them to discharge and disperse those, who upon their orders of invitation and encouragement to engage for *Ireland*, had left the Army, quitted the advantages they might have had in joining in that Rebellion, and wholly cast themselves upon the Parliament, as Sir Robert Pye's Men, Colonel Graves's, Colonel Butlers, Captain Farmers, Lieutenant Colonel Jacksons, the Captain, and many of the Soldiers of the Life-Guard, and others quarter'd in *Kent* and *Surry*, the greater part of the two Regiments under Colonel Herbert and Colonel Kempson, quarter'd about *Worcester* and *Evesham*; these honest, gallant, faithful, stout Men, both Officers and Soldiers, for their obedience to the Parliament, zeal to *Ireland*, must be abus'd and ruin'd, the Parliament it self made to eat
its

its own words, break its faith, deceive them who trusted it, deliver them up, make them Anathema's: for what? because the Army says they are Deserters, and raisers of a new War, but in truth, for complying with their Commands, refusing to join in a Rebellion against them, being willing to adventure their lives against the Rebels of *Ireland*.

120. Never was such a violence and scorn put upon a single person, or any society of Men, much less a Parliament, to make it act its own shame and confusion, except by that *Italian*, who to be reveng'd on his Enemy, got him at advantage, bad him deny Jesus Christ, and acknowledg him his Saviour, or he should die presently, which the wretch doing to save his life, he then stabs him to the heart, and says, Go thy ways, I am now reveng'd upon Body and Soul. So the Army threaten'd the Parliament, if all these things foremention'd were not done (and likewise the poor Reformadoes put out of the City, who had offer'd themselves, and were ready to run all dangers for theirs and the City's preservation) and done by the next Thursday night, that then they should be forc'd to take such a course extraordinary, as God should enable them and direct them to.

121. And when the Parliament had done it (as they did all but suspending their
Mem.

Members) had retracted that Vote concerning the King's coming to *Richmond* (which the Lords did first at Mr. *Marshall's* earnest solicitation, as I have heard, who at that time could not have prevail'd so with the House of Commons) prostituting their Honours, renouncing whatever would be of strength and safety to them, casting themselves down naked, helpless and hopeless, at the proud feet of their domineering Masters, it is all to no purpose, it dos but encourage those merciless Men to trample the more upon them, like the Task-masters of *Egypt*, double the tale of their Bricks.

122. For this was a resolution taken, nothing should satisfy, nay not be accepted with a good look, a smile, whilst the eleven Members sat in the House; while *Mordecai* stood in the Gate and bowed not, proud *Haman* cannot be pleas'd, therefore he must die: The eleven Members must out. The House of Commons will not do it, Mr. *Joyce* and his Agitators shall. For this Sir *Thomas Fairfax* takes up his Quarter at *Uxbridge*, some of his Forces advance within three or four Miles of *Westminster*, he sends his Warrants for Provisions into the very Suburbs, a Party of Horse is commanded to be ready at a Rendezvouze, to march up to the Parliament, then here is the Case of the eleven Members; stay, a violence shall be offer'd up-

upon the House, the Members pull'd out by the Ears, and then *Actum est de Parlamento*, I may say *de Parlamento*, farewell this and all Parliaments.

123. Those Gentlemen therefore think it best, rather than a breach should be made upon their occasion, that through their sides the Parliament should be stuck to the very heart, and die for ever, to make it their own act of forbearing the House. And therefore they told the House, they saw they were in that condition they could neither protect them nor themselves; that if they would not do as *Achish* did to *David*, who bid him be gone because the Princes of the Philistins lov'd him not, yet that they would at their humble suit and desire be pleas'd to give them leave to withdraw, and to such as desir'd it, Passes to go beyond Sea, which at last they did agree to, tho truly I must say, unwillingly; but which all said, they look'd upon it as a good Service done to the House for preventing greater inconveniences.

124. Upon this they forbore, and staid, I think, a week or better, expecting if the Army would send in a particular Charge against all or any of them; which not doing, but instead of that writing up a Letter to commend their Modesty, they then petition'd the House, that they would send to
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the Army to know what particulars they laid to their charge, and prefix them some convenient time to do it in : Which the House did, giving them about a week. And one would have thought a short day might have serv'd. That accusing Members in such a manner, with such a noise, as if they had been so criminal, that as Mr. Solicitor said by his Beasts of prey, which were not to have Law given them, but be knockt in the head, so they were not worthy of Justice, nor of privilege of Parliament, nor of common humanity, much less to be us'd with some respect, like Gentlemen who had so long, and some of them serv'd their Country so often in Parliament, and more faithfully than ever any of the Army party did, or will do there or any where else. But all Bonds of duty and civil society must be broken through to come at their destruction ; they must needs have known some notorious things by them which might readily be produc'd. But it seems they were not so provided, the particular matter of their Charge was yet to seek (as their fellow Mr. *John Lawmind* says) they were then hunting out for Articles, sending about for Witnesses to testify any thing, promise, bribe, threaten, but all would not do : several persons came to me, informing how they had been solicited to inform against me ; one *Lewis* told me
they

they had been tampering with him ; one *Westcomb* acquainted me how one *Pain* had been sent for by *Rusworth* his Excellency's excellent Secretary, to the same purpose, who lodg'd him in his Chamber, gave him an Angel the first time ; that he went the second time, and this *Westcomb* with him, and then had a Horse given him worth ten Pounds, and the promise of some Place in the Army, for which it is presum'd he did some acceptable Service. It seems these Saints were put hard to it ; well, the first day pass'd and no Charge came in, they desir'd longer time, and promis'd it should be ready by such a day, and I think the day after it did come : And if I be not very partial to my self, as in this I believe I am not, after all this travelling of the Mountains, out comes *ridiculus Mus*.

125. I will not repeat all the particulars here, they are in print and our answer to them, which I hope satisfies all Men ; besides another answer we put into the House, more upon the formality of a legal Plea, which it seems satisfy'd them, for they never proceeded further, nor did the Army prosecute, but the House order'd the Speaker to give us Passes according to our desires.

126. I will but make this observation upon some of them, That they and their Par-

ty acted those very things which they laid to our charge; and what was false as to us, was really true in them.

127. One thing was holding a Correspondency with the King and his Party, which of all Men they ought not to have objected, doing what they did even at that very time; for suppose it never so great a Crime, it ill becomes the Devil to find fault with the Collier for being black: they treat with his Majesty, have some of his Servants present at their Councils of War to debate and prepare things, frame proposals for settling the whole business of the Kingdom; and if their own Writers, Prophets of their own, tell true, capitulate for Honours and Preferments, *Cromwel* to have a blew Ribbon, be an Earl, his Son to be of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince, *Ireton* some great Officer in *Ireland*. Now admit all true they said of us, was it to be compar'd to this? is it not a *Decimo sexto* to their Folio, a Mole-hill to their Mountain? And I desire it may be taken notice of, that in all the Charge there is not a word of the Plot to fetch the King from *Holmby*, bring him to *London*, or put him at the head of the Army, which they made the groundwork of all their Villanies, pretending some of us (in truth underhand, and in their Pamphlets naming me) to have had such an intention; and

and that what they did was by way of prevention. Is it likely this would have been omitted if there had been the least colour of truth for it? but Truth was what they ever least look'd after in all their Speeches and Actions, caring only to serve a turn, gain an advantage by cozening the world, and then cast about how to make it good by power, or amuse Men with some new Cheat, that the last might be forgotten.

128. They accuse us of infringing, and endeavouring to overthrow the Liberties and Rights of the Subject in arbitrary and oppressive ways, and by indirect and corrupt practices to delay and obstruct Justice. These are the words in their general Charge. Now I appeal to all Men, and even to their own Consciences, who say this, whether of the two, they or their Party, or we in the House of Commons, upon all occasions, were for violence, oppression, and ruin, to destroy all that came before them, sequester Estates, impose great Fines, imprison, starve, sometimes take away life, make Men offenders for a word, take all advantages, wrest and strain up to the height of all their penal Ordinances; and who they were that had the hand in making all those penal Ordinances, so severe for Sequestrations, so high for Compositions, so insnaring and bloody for making new Treasons, and little things to be

be capital Crimes; that no Man almost was safe, free from question, and few or none question'd but sure to be destroy'd. How many Ministers were pull'd out of their Livings for very small faults? how many Persons made Delinquents, their Estates torn in pieces, themselves, their Wives and Children turn'd to beggery, and ready to starve for no great offences, at least that for which they did not deserve so severe a punishment? What Committees were set up? That of Haberdashers Hall, to pill and poll Men, put them to an Oath as ill as that *ex officio* to make them discover their Estates, and expose themselves to their merciless carving out a fifth and twentieth part, which was the undoing of many, even fetching in some of the Members of the House to whom they had a displeasure, and generally all Men who had cross'd or oppos'd them in any thing: that of Goldsmiths Hall, to impose Fines to the ruin of many of the best Families of *England*: that of Sequestrations, where the very intention of the Houses was perverted, that Committee being first propos'd and made only for great and notorious Offenders, but afterwards came to be worse than any Spanish Inquisition, few escaping that were ever question'd; I dare say Serjeant *Wild* the Chairman, and Mr. *Nichols* the Lawyer, and some few more Bloodhounds, who always

attended there, never gave their Votes for the freeing of scarce any one person; and then the delay there is worse than the condemnation, making suitors wait one, two years, and commonly be sequester'd at last. The Committee of Examinations where Mr. *Miles Corbet* kept his Justice Seat, which was worth something to his Clerk, if not to him, what a continual Horse Fair it was? even like Dooms-day it self, to judg persons of all sorts and sexes.

129. Did not that Faction put on all these things? did not we still oppose, hinder it all we could? how earnestly and how often have we mov'd the putting down those Committees? that of Sequestration, that of Haberdashers Hall. Those in the Counties sometimes got orders of the House for that purpose, brought in Ordinances, and still by some art or other of theirs put by when it was thought in a manner settled, so as the Government might have return'd to Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Grand Juries, and other Ministers of Justice in that subordination which the Law had establish'd. Was any preserv'd and deliver'd out of his trouble, that we or some of us had not a hand in it? Were we not call'd the moderate Party? branded with that Title (for they held it a crime) were we not said to favour Malignants? when in truth we had respect to the
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Parliament, that it should not be made the Instrument of those mens Lusts, and contract that Obedience which only could ruin it, and upon which this very Party, being themselves the cause of it, took the advantage to master and subdue it, they in the beginning of their Rebellion exclaiming against the Parliament for those things, and therewith possessing the Country, which themselves and their Faction made it do. Who but they drew all business into the Parliament, especially when themselves or their Friends were any thing concern'd? And had they not an Art of delaying men, and making them attend when they could not mischief them by dispatching the business? were any more violent in an arbitrary way of proceeding than they? nay, were any so but they? could a Mayor, or Officer, or a Burgess for Parliament be chosen almost in any Town of *England*, but with their leaves and according to their likings? And on the other side, did not we press to have all things left to the Law of the land, and to the antient and ordinary course? yet they accuse us to be the troublers of *Israel*, and themselves would be thought to be the restorers, just as the Wolf in the Fable charg'd the Lamb with troubling the Waters.

130. They charge us beside with having a great power upon the Treasure of the

Kingdom, disposing of the publick Monies, enriching our selves, and say in many of their Declarations, that they would embroil the Land in a new War, that we might not be called to an account for them. O the impudence! They know that themselves only and their Creatures had power over the Monies, and medled in Money matters, well licking their Fingers; for they know they shar'd and divided amongst themselves all the Fat of the Land, the Treasure, the Offices, the King's Revenue, the Revenue of the Church, the Estates of so great a part of the Nobility and Gentry, whom they had made Delinquents, and we, not one of us had any thing to do in all this; Mr. Recorder I think only was of the Committee of the King's Revenue, but very seldom came thither. And did not they make use of the price in their hands? And did they not like charitable persons begin at home, give Gifts and Offices to all their own Party, to some upon mere Grace, as the thousands to Mr. *Blaxton*, a thousand Pound to Mr. *Pury* (besides a good Office) as much to Mr. *Hodges* of *Glocestershire*, to Alderman *Pennington*, who had conceal'd three thousand Pounds of Sir *John Pennington's* which he had in his hands, for which, by their ordinance, he should have forfeited the treble, and had he been a friend to the eleven Mem-
bers

bers should not have been spar'd ; they did not only forgive him that, but gave him that three thousand Pounds, and three thousand Pounds more, which was upon the City's turning him out of their Militia, and presently made him be put in again. The Speaker had Money given him, I know not how much, 6000 *l.* at one time (as I remember) was made Master of the Rolls, Chancellor of the Dutchy, and a good while Keeper ; Mr. Sollicitor was, besides his being Sollicitor, the King's Attorney, and about two years one of the Lord Keepers, got infinitely by the Pardons upon Compositions, which was a device only to fill his Coffers, and had a thousand Pounds given him at the expiration of his Commission for the Great Seal. So had all his fellow Commissioners, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Prideaux*, and Serjeant *Wild*, each their thousand Pound besides the profits of the Seal ; Mr. *Prideaux* also made himself Post-master of *England*, being but the Chairman of a Sub-Committee to the Grand-Committee of Grievances, where my Lord of *Warwick* and *Burlamachi* were contesting about the place, which was there represented as a publick Grievance, tho my Lord of *Warwick's* Grant prov'd not to be so ; but this worthy Gentleman being one of the Committee, and in the Chair, who was to hear both, and report their

Cases to the Grand Committee, from whence it was to come to the House, finding it a convenient Employment, worth some 24, or 2500 *l. per Annum*, eas'd them of it, took it himself, and has kept it ever since. Mr. Serjeant *Wild* was trusted with some Money by the Lady *Thornborough's* Father for the use of his Daughter, and took occasion upon her going to *Oxford*, pretending she had got possession of his Estate, to get a fair Ordinance of both Houses to have that Money given to himself; but sure found some good Law for it, as he did for hanging of Captain *Burley*; and being excellent at it, no question would find Law to hang the eleven Members, were there a whole dozen of them, and me highest for writing this, which he would prove to be a greater Treason than any in the Statute of the 25th of *Edward* the 3^d; and when I come within his power, I will forgive it him, let him hang as many, and get as much of the Commonwealths Money as he can in the mean time. But I will say this for him, the Elders of *Jezreel* that found a Law to put *Naboth* to death, were but fools to him. Then how many of their small Prophets were prefer'd, that Man of Conscience Alderman *Hoil*, that worthy Lawyer Mr. *Nicklis*, Sir *William Allison*, Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Lenshal* the Speaker's Son, these two made six Clerks;

Mr.

Mr. *Liste*, Master of St. *Cross's*, Mr. *Miles Corbet*, Colonel *White*, a Colonel that never was in the Field with his Regiment, Mr. *Allen* the Goldsmith; all of them, and I know not how many more, in places of great profit, some in the Courts of *Westminster*, others made Treasurers of their Armies, as *Allen* and *White*; the latter also made Clerk of the Assizes in the Northern Circuit, worth 5 or 600 *l. per Annum*. *Cromwel* has 2500 *l. per Annum*, Sir *Peter Wentworth* a Gentleman's Estate for half the value, settled likewise by Ordinance, tho the Gentleman (whose delinquency was perhaps aggravated, because he would not sell him that Land which he had long desir'd, like *Naboth's Vineyard*) offer'd to pay the Money to the State as the Fine for his Composition, which by the rules of their own proceedings could not in Justice have been deny'd him. I remember we put by the Ordinance two or three times, but I hear it is since past, which makes me mention it here.

131. To some for reparation of Losses. So Mr. *Cornelius Holland*, who had some inferiour place in the Prince's Household (which certainly he was not born to, the height of his ambition reaching no further in the beginning than to be Sir *Henry Vane's* Man) was in recompence set over the

King's Children, above my Lady of *Dorset*, and had the managing of their Household some three or four years; then they gave him the King's Pastures in *Buckinghamshire* for twenty one years, worth to him *de claro* some 15 or 1600 *l. per Annum*. Sir *William Strickland* for the burning of his House in *Torkshire*, has a Gentleman's Estate in *Kent* of a good value. Mr. *Henry Herbert* had 3000 *l.* given him out of my Lord of *Worcester's* Woods, and Sir *John Winter's*. The Lord *Say*, in lieu of the Mastership of the Wards, which by his power since the beginning of this Parliament he had wrested from the Lord *Cottington*, had 10000 *l.* and for part of the Money (I think 4000 *l.* of it) had *Hanworth* House, with the Lands about it, which was worth, as they say, 14000 *l.* Colonel *Fleetwood* was by way of Sequestration put into the Remembrancers place of the Court of Wards, which his Brother held, and by going to *Oxford* lost it; upon the putting down of the Court he had 3000 *l.* recompense: multitudes there are more of this kind.

132. To some for pretended Arrears; as to Sir *Arthur Haslerig* 7000 *l.* who had earn'd it well at the *Devizes* and *Cherrington*. To the Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *William Constable*, Sir *William Brereton*, great Sums. To Colonel *Thompson* 2000 *l.* for his wooden Leg, which

which nothing but a Cannon could have helpt him to, for he would never come within Musket shot. To Colonel *Purefoy* and his Son Colonel *Boswel*, some 1500 *l.* each; and so to many more.

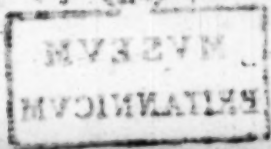
133. To some to buy their Voices, make them Profelytes. To Mr. *Weston*, Son to the Earl of *Portland*, the reviving an arrear of a Pension which was his Ladies, and if I be not deceiv'd, had been discontinu'd for many years: The Debenter, as I remember, was 4000 *l.* To the Lord *Grey* of *Groby* (who had before been zealous for my Lord of *Essex*, as he had good reason for the respects he had receiv'd from him) a considerable Sum, which I well remember not, to be paid him out of such discoveries of Delinquents Estates as he should make; whereupon he and his Terriers were long attending the Committee of Examinations, in the prosecution still of some Game or other, till his Sum was made up. To Mr. *Scawen*, one who formerly had not very well lik'd of their ways, 2000 *l.* How many of the Lords that could not be heard before, nor their Petitions scarce vouchsafed to be read, when they tackt about and voted with them, were then presently consider'd, and good proportions allow'd them; nay, they were so impudent as some of them would not stick to give it for a reason openly in the House,
why

why they would not grant their desires, that they took notice how they gave their Votes: Mr. *Gourden* is the Man I have heard say so several times; this was an excellent way to make a free Parliament, for the Members to be honest and discharge their Consciences.

134. Then for Accounts; I would fain know what Accounts they have pass'd.: Let any Man peruse my Lord *Fairfax's* and Sir *William Constable's*, I hear they are strange ones for the great Sums they have finger'd: And I am sure the Committee of Accounts did complain, that their Sub-Committees were beaten in *Staffordshire*, where Mr. *Puresoy* and Mr. *Boswel* should have acted, and would not.

135. Upon the whole matter, I would have our Accusers say so much by one of us: I confess, I am sorry to discover this of them, it being much against my nature, but I am forc'd to it for my vindication. I may say with the Apostle, They have compell'd me, and not only so to recriminate, but even to glory a little in some thing. Have any of us ever refus'd to account, who were liable to it? Sir *William Lewis* did account for the Monys he receiv'd, being Governor of *Portsmouth*, so fairly and satisfactorily, as that the Committee of Accounts made a special report of it to the House, to be (as they said)

said) an Example to others for his care and just dealing in managing the States Monies which came to his hands. Major General *Massey* I am sure was solicitous to perfect his accounts, which if or no he had done before they drove him away I know not. Sir *William Waller* and Colonel *Long* finish'd theirs. Sir *Philip Stapleton* never touch'd but his personal Pay, yet did account, and had but forty Shillings a day, being Lieutenant General of the Horse under my Lord of *Essex*, who was Generalissimo, when Sir *Arthur Haslerig* had five Pounds for commanding the Horse under Sir *William Waller*, a Place inferior to his, and had been at no charge, having liv'd still upon Sir *William Waller*, and gotten well all along the Employment. Sir *William Waller* had his Arrears after his subordinate Officer; Sir *Arthur* had led the way, who broke the Ice for his General and all the rest. Sir *Philip Stapleton* had also his, a very small one for so eminent an Officer, in regard his allowance was no greater; it came to about 1700 *l.* having left the benefit of his whole Estate during all the Wars, which *Haslerig* did not, if his Neighbours in *Leicestershire* say true, that his Grounds have continu'd full stock'd all this while, better than ever they were before, so safe and well protected (as I have heard) that his Neighbours when there was danger, would



would send their Cattel thither; I confess, I understand not the mystery.

136, Here is all concerning matters of Accounts and Arrears of the eleven Members, the rest medled not with any of the States Monies, some of them have refus'd to receive what the House had given them upon much juster grounds than all the pretences of the others that had so much. I myself for my Sufferings after the Parliament 3d. Car. which continu'd many years, cost me some thousands of Pounds, and prejudic'd me more, had five thousand Pounds given me by the House for my reparation. I refus'd it, and said, I would not receive a Penny till the publick debts were paid. Let any of them say so much. I desire who ever shall chance to read this, to pardon me this folly, I do not mean for not taking the Money, but seeming to boast of it. I must again repeat the Apostles words, I am become a Fool in glorying, but they have compel'd me. It is true, I had paid for a Fine impos'd in the King's Bench, which I laid down in ready Money out of my Purse, a thousand Marks: This in the time of these troubles, when my whole Estate was kept from me in the West, that for three years or thereabouts I receiv'd thence not one Farthing, was reimburs'd to me.



137. Now I appeal to the world, whether our accusers, or we the poor eleven Members, so decry'd, so oppress'd, were the more guilty, who they were, who had gotten, cozen'd, oppress'd, were indeed the Traitors. If he did not say as truly as he did wittily, if they had not had more men than matter against us, they had been the Traitors themselves, which many of their own Disciples have upon the matter confess'd and publish'd, saying, they were to seek for matter; only we were a Beam in their Eyes: And their great Apostle *Liburn* himself says, the great aim was but to pull down those who stood in the way of their preferment.

138. Here is our Crime, I will ask pardon of God for my failings, even in the performance of all these duties, where I serv'd my Country best, but not of the Parliament from whence I desire no favour. Let them put upon me the severest disquisition, either concerning those things then charg'd, or the great Treason since committed, of endeavouring to defend my self, the Parliament, the City, from a rebellious, unjust, oppressing Army, which against all Laws of God and Man, came to force us, for which I stand voted to be impeach'd of Treason, and am outed the House, of which I shall treat presently.

139. But first I shall shew the Steps to it. The Army now did all, the Parliament was but a Cypher, only cry'd Amen to what the Councils of War had determin'd. They make themselves an absolute third Estate, have Commissioners residing with them from the Parliament, Agents from his Majesty, and abuse both sufficiently; as solemnly treated with as if no Subjects, but a Body subordinate to neither, vested with an Independent Authority, claiming only from God and their Sword. The whole business of the Kingdom is there now agitated, and the engagement of the Army is the Standard by which all propositions must be measur'd. If any thing be offer'd by the Parliament which they like not, it is presently answer'd not to stand with their solemn Engagement. Many meetings there were, great consultations and debates upon certain proposals for settling of a Peace, and securing the Rights and Liberties of the People.

140. Notwithstanding this, while these things are in agitation, after all their affronting, baffling, forcing the Parliament, marching up against it and the City, contrary to their orders, by which they were not to come nearer than within forty Miles of London, they will have them own them for their Army, undertake to provide for their maintenance, and immediately send down

a months Pay, yet will not be subject to them in any thing. All this is done, Mr. *Marshal* the Minister being a principal Instrument for them, who was still going and coming between *Westminster* and the head Quarters, or at the Parliament doors soliciting the Members of both Houses, perswading them by all manner of arguments, sometimes assurances, sometimes terrifyings, to agree to those things which the Army desir'd; and this not in order to the setting up of Presbytery, in which he had formerly been so zealous (for the Presbyters were not then Trump, and he meant to whine therefore to put out them to take in better Cards for his turn) Afterwards they send to repeal the Ordinance for the Militia of *London*, which had been settled upon many and long debates, to stand for one whole year, and renew the former expir'd Ordinance for establishing the old Committee, which was the year before.

141. It is but ask and have, that is presently done; and truly I think it was a design of the Army, merely to provoke the City, engage them to do something, express a dislike perhaps, fly out, and give them an occasion to offer some violence should they persist; or if yield after a little ill favour'dly shewing their teeth, then to put such things upon them, so yoke them,
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break their strength, trample upon their Liberties and Privileges, as they should not be able afterwards upon any occasion to raise them disturbance, and make opposition to whatever they should set on foot, tho never so grievous and displeasing to the whole Kingdom; for they thought not themselves secure whilst the City stood unbroken.

142. Their Plot took, the City was very much mov'd at this sudden Act of the Houses, in the altering their Militia, without so much as giving them notice to hear what they could say in a point so nearly concerning them. They look upon it as an Infringement of their Charter (granted and confirm'd to them by so many Kings successively, by which they were still to have the power of their own Militia) as a shaking of the foundation of all their security for those vast sums of Money they had lent, which depended only upon Ordinances: and the easie and sudden repealing of this, gave them cause to fear they might be serv'd so in the rest.

143. Whereupon at their Common Council they agreed upon a Petition to the Houses, informing them of the distempers in the City upon the change they had made, and beseeching them to reestablish it as it was before; which was presented by the

the Sheriffs, some of the Aldermen, and of the Members of the Common Council in a fair and submissive way. But the Parliament durst do nothing without the leave of their Masters, only give them good words, and so hop'd to slide over the business. Then some young Men, Apprentices and others, appear'd, pressing hard, who would not be satisfy'd till it was done; which the Houses sticking at, the young Men insisting, drew a great concourse of people, putting things into some heat, so as at last they prevail'd, and the Militia was again settled according to their desire: upon which they went away returning to their homes, only some of the younger and more unruly sort remain'd, among whom some idle people (and perhaps not well affected) Soldiers and others, and I have heard some of the Independents even belonging to the Army, thrust themselves, and put the multitude, disorderly enough before, into great distempers, who then would make the Houses do this and the other thing, vote the King's coming to London, the calling in of the eleven Members, and I know not what else, would not suffer the Parliament Men either of the one House or the other, to stir till all was voted and pass'd which they desir'd, keeping them there till I think nine of the clock at night;

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when the Common Council bearing of these disorders, sent down the Sheriffs of *London* and some of the Aldermen to appease them, which they did. This was upon Monday the 26th of *July*. The Houses adjourn'd themselves, the House of Peers to Friday, the Commons house to the next day. The City had against the next day, which was Tuesday, taken order to prevent such further inconveniences by unruly people assembling about *Westminster*, which before they could not well do, in regard their Militia was unsettled by the alteration that the new Ordinance upon the Armies command had made, and I heard sent down a Message to the House of Commons to assure them of it; but Mr. Speaker was so hasty to adjourn till the Friday, perhaps because the rather he would not receive that Message which had half spoil'd the Plot; that he would scarce stay till it was a House; and some of the factious crying to adjourn, he did so, tho many cry'd out against it, who could not be heard.

144. By the Friday the two Speakers, the Earl of *Manchester* of the Peers, and Mr. *Lenthall* of the Commons, instead of giving their attendance according to their duty upon the Houses, with eight Lords and fifty
eight

eight Commoners, were run down to the Army, - there enter into an engagement, bearing date the 4th of *August*, to live and die with it, upon pretence of a force and violence to the Parliament, but in truth by a Conspiracy with the Army, design'd and laid principally by Mr. *Saint John* the Solicitor, as appears by a Letter sent from *Rushworth*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* Secretary, to the Speaker, with no name in it, but the latter part of it written with his own hand, advising him not to appear at the House on Friday morning, but to take counsel of Mr. Solicitor, who would tell him what was fit to be done, assuring him the Army would all lie in the dirt or protect them who were their friends. This, as I remember, was the effect of the Letter, yet remaining in one of the Houses; which, no doubt, came from Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and Mr. *Cromwel*, and the rest of those Governors undertaking so for the Army, and shews who was the man that must give the Orders, and direct what was to be done by the House, and then may well be suppos'd to be the Author of all. The ground of this Engagement is made to be a Declaration of the Armies shewing the reasons of their advance towards *London*, as full of falshood as it is of malice against the eleven poor Members,

and in truth intended only against them, who are by it said to be the cause of all that had been done in the City; that therefore they were resolv'd to march up to *London*, expecting the well affected people of the City would either put us in safe custody, or deliver us up to them, stuffing up the whole Declaration with falsehoods and lies, as well in the narrative part as in the comment upon it; they pretend, That to carry on our former evil designs, and preserve our selves from the hand of Justice, we had endeavour'd to cast the Kingdom into a new War, and to that end had procur'd an under hand lifting of Reformadoes, and continu'd a wicked and treasonable Combination, which we caus'd several persons to enter into, That this could not be done in the time of the old Commissioners for the Militia, and therefore the new were made, who many of them were very intimate with us, which was a just cause for the Army to have them chang'd again: That thereupon the tumult was abetted and fomented by us to violate the Parliament, and force it into our hands, which makes them require that we may be in that manner deliver'd up; and declar'd all that was done in the Houses that day or afterwards, till those fugitive Members should return again, null and void (so here the Army
takes

takes upon it to declare what Votes shall stand good, what not; and this is for the honour and freedom of the Parliament, that which those worthy Patriots would live and die upon) And besides, they say they were labouring after the settlement of the Kingdom, and had even brought it to perfection, the particular proposals ready to be sent to the Parliament for a final conclusion of all our troubles; which conclusion of our troubles, in truth, nothing in the sight of Man could have hinder'd, but this cursed practice of violence upon the Parliament, which very thing in them was as cursed a High Treason as could be committed, a mercenary Army rais'd by the Parliament, all of them from the General (except what he may have in expectation after his Father's death) to the meanest Centinal, not able to make a thousand Pounds a year Lands, most of the Colonels and Officers mean Tradesmen, Brewers, Taylors, Goldsmiths, Shoemakers, and the like; a notable Dunghil, if one would rake into it, to find out their several Pedigrees: these to rebel against their Masters, put conditions upon them, upon the King and whole Kingdom, make their Will a Rule, that all the Interests of King, Parliament, and Kingdom must be squared by, which they are not ashamed to declare here to the world.

145. And this pious Declaration do these worthy Lords and Commons receive with much approbation, and with much thankfulness to God in the first place, and next under him to the ever faithful Army; and so became, like the Profelites which the Scribes and Pharisees made, twofold more the Children of Hell than themselves; more criminous, and guilty of a greater Treason, as having broken a higher Trust, being themselves part of the Parliament which they deserted and betray'd; a wound given in the more noble and vital parts, tearing the Bowels, and piercing to the very Heart. Whereas the Army were but Servants, outward and ministerial parts, so to be look'd upon, and so punish'd; Slaves were crucify'd, but Citizens that betray'd were exterminated, they and their posterity, and the whole City turn'd into mourning, sensible of the loss as the Body when depriv'd of a principal Member.

146. They should have remembred, that even at the time of the pretended force which they would have men believe to have driven them away, the House lay under a greater force, and themselves were greater Slaves to the lusts of the Army which trampled

upon their Necks, made them more contemptible than the smallest Court of Guard that had but a Corporal to command it, to eat their words, their Declarations, Orders, Ordinances, break their Faith, betray and destroy all that serv'd them faithfully, give thanks for being cudgel'd and abus'd, pray and pay, and be glad it would be accepted; Should not every Member have been sensible of such violations and injuries done to the Body? But some will say it was as these Men will have it, who were like the sinful lusts in the Soul, quiet and well pleas'd, while the strong man the Devil keeps the house: So they were satisfy'd with all that was done, because it was according to their Minds, conducing to their Ends. If it be so, and that they will be Slaves, let them be Slaves still, for they deserve no better. The Army was the fittest place for them, as *Brutus* said of those he took Prisoners at the first Battel of *Philippi*, Let them go, says he, they are greater Captives in their own Camp under *Cesar* and *Anthony* than here.

147. They might likewise have considered, that the force upon the Parliament from the Army, as it was greater, so to have been a more horrid crime, of more dangerous consequence to the Kingdom, and

more destructive to the being of Parliaments than that from the Apprentices; which is, in my opinion, very clear. This of the Apprentices being a sudden tumultuary thing of young idle people without design, and without that obligation; indeed but an effect of the other, both as following their example, and also as occasion'd by the just offence which they had given the City; whereas the Army was a form'd deep laid design of revenge upon them they call'd their Enemies, of domination over the Parliament and Kingdom, carry'd on both with power and cunning, laying the foundation of a perpetual Tyranny by a company of hir'd Servants, that had receiv'd more wages ten times than their work deserv'd, and now betray'd the trust repos'd in them, rising against their Masters, whose own Swords they turn'd upon their breasts, to force them to do most dishonourable, unjust, infamous actions, deliver up themselves and the Kingdom to their wills. So as take the act of the Apprentices at the worst, it is *ex malis minimum*, and that of those fugitive Members at the best, which is, that they were really under a force, and under a fear, they did *vitare Charibdim incidere in Scyllam*, and leap (as the old Proverb is) out of the Fryngpan into the Fire, wherein they were unfortunate;

fortunate; and well would it be for them in the day of their accounts if it were but fortune, but it is too apparent to have been in some of them a propens'd Malice and detestable Combination.

148. As for what they lay to the eleven Members, with all the aggravations in that Declaration, I will not answer it as Mr. Nathaniel Fines did Mr. Walker's Charge against him, to say only thou liest, and quote along the Margin, First, Second, Third, and Fourth Lie. But this I will say to disprove it, affirming it upon the word of a Gentleman, and faith of an honest Man (I think I may speak as much for the whole number) I was not in the City all the time those businesses were in agitation, knew nothing of the Petitions nor actions in the Common Council, nothing of the City's engagement, never saw it till two or three days after it was printed, had not the least thought of the Apprentices coming down to *Westminster*, nor notice of it till the very day at eleven of the Clock when they were already there. We had appointed four days before to meet that day at dinner at the Bell in *Kingstreet*, there to even our Reckonings, because we had made a common Purse for Lawyers Fees and other charges,

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in preparing our answer for the House, then to take our leaves one of another, resolving to go several ways, some beyond Sea, some into the Country. As I was going into my Coach (there was with me Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Waller*, Major General *Massey*, and Mr. *Lang*) one brought us word of the hubbub at the House, whereupon we resolv'd not to go, and parted companies upon it; but presently Sir *William Lewis's* Footman came to tell us, his Master and Mr. *Nichols* were staying for us at the Bell; upon which Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Waller*, and my self (who were yet together) went thither, but hearing more of the disorder about *Westminster Hall*, we would not stay so much as to make an end of our Dinners, but presently came away. I mention this particular because I know they have made a great matter of that meeting, as if it was to be near hand, to receive information, and send instructions according to occasion, when we were as innocent of it as any of those who cry out most against us; nay more, if it be true what is so confidently reported, as I said before, that there were Independents most busie amongst that unruly multitude.

149. Here we have seen what those worthy

thy Members did at the Army, and upon what ground; and besides what little reason they had to go away upon the pretended force; which was a sudden thing, then past; and care taken it should be no more; and they lying before under a greater force, which they purposely now ran again into, to continue it the longer upon themselves and the Kingdom. Now let us see what in the mean time was doing at London.

150. The Houses met according to the adjournment upon Friday the 30th of July, some six or sevenscore in the House of Commons, and as great a number of Lords in their House as of those who went to the Army, but all mute, neither having their Speaker, for whom they sent about to seek, waiting till they had certain information how they had dispos'd of themselves; then they fell into consideration of what was to be done, and that offer'd it self, which in truth was obvious to every man's reason, to chuse other Speakers. For the Lords House there could be no question, it was every day's practice, their Speaker being but *pro tempore*, and changeable at pleasure; so they make choice of my Lord Willoughby of Parham. For the House of Commons, it lay not so above ground, their Speaker being a

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settled Officer, made with great Formalities, and not so moveable at pleasure; but that he cannot be at all remov'd upon no occasion, not for misdemeanour (as it is not esteem'd for a Speaker to be honest, or to be so powerful by his compliance with the major or the more active part of the House, to be born out in his Knaveries, as some have the luck of it) or if he desert the House as Mr. *Lenthall* lately did, or be disabled by sickness, or any other accident, I think no Man will say: For then what Act of continuance will be of avail to keep up the Parliament, since it would depend upon the will of one Man, or the uncertainty of his health, to frustrate all such provisions, and at any time to set a period to a Parliament?

§ 1. Therefore they proceed to the choice of their Speaker, and pitch upon Mr. *Henry Pelham*, who, according to the custom, is presented at the Lords House Bar, brought in by my Lord of *Pembroke* in his Robes, and there receiv'd.

§ 2. They then go on upon the business of the House, take into consideration the Letter spoken of sent by *Rushworth* to Mr. *Lenthall* the late Speaker, which discover'd the intention of the Army to march up against

gainst the City; whereupon they order a Letter to be written to the General, signifying in what quietness they sat, and that therefore he should not advance his Quarters any nearer.

153. They afterwards order the eleven Members to come and give their attendance, who were presently sent for, and some others that had been fore'd by the Army to forbear the House.

154. For amongst other enormous proceedings of the Army, one was, upon pretence that some sat there who had born Arms against the Parliament, or abetted the other side, they make the House enjoin some Gentlemen to present a state of their Case upon certain Votes then pass'd, which put an incapacity upon such as were comprehended in them under a heavy penalty if they forbore not the House of themselves, so compelling them either to accuse themselves against all rule of Justice, and the very law of Nature, undergoing the greatest hazard that could be; for if they fail'd in a tittle, as very well one might in a thing done three or four years before, or that any Knave would come and swear something against him, they underwent the penalty,
or

or else to deprive themselves of their rights of sitting in the House, and so the Town or County which had chosen him lose the service of their Burgess or Knight; indeed this was a heinous villany, but they are guilty of so many that one drowns another.

155. They pass a Vote, that the King may be humbly desir'd to come to his own house at *Richmond*, that so the Houses of Parliament and Commissioners of *Scotland* might have access to him, to propose what was necessary for settling the Peace of the Kingdom, himself be in a place of safety out of the hands and power of the Army, whose fair shews towards him they had cause to suspect to be no other than the kisses of *Judas*, to betray and ruin both him and the Kingdom: and accordingly Messengers were sent to attend him with it, but the Army frustrated all those endeavours.

156. Some other things were pass'd that day, and lest the Parliament should be wanting to it self in doing what was possible for its defence and the Citys, in case the Army should not stop upon their Letter, the Committee of Safety is reviv'd, and order'd, as before, to join with the Mi-

Militia, and provide for their protection; and all but need, for Sir Thomas Fairfax and his two Councils of War, the Members and the Officers, would not vouchsafe to read the Letter, but march on *Rabsbekah* like, threatening ruin and destruction; yet was there no such thought towards them, our End being not *vin-ferre*, but *repellere*, get such a strength about us as might only defend, not offend. To that end those Forces which were quarter'd further off in Kent and Surrey, as Sir Robert Pye's Company, Colonel Graves, and some others, were commanded to draw near the City, not offering or intending any act of hostility, when upon a sudden, the Sunday morning the 21 of August, a Party of Horse, about two Regiments, commanded, as I take it; by one *Desborough* a Major, fell into *Dipsford*, where were some half a score of Sir Robert Pye's Soldiers who had stand behind the rest to discharge the Quarters, and most inhumanly and basely butcher'd those poor Men as many as they could light of, killing besides any that look'd like a Soldier whom they found upon the way, some within a stones cast of the works of *Southwark*. This, as it was a most barbarous and bloody Murder (which will bring down vengeance

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upon their heads soon or late, that tho they should escape the hand of Justice here, the hand of God will certainly overtake them) so did it something awaken the City to see their own danger, and a little quicken their pace to draw the Ordnance upon their Works, and man them something better; but in truth not much. For I may say they were a people prepar'd for ruin and slavery, *Gibbs* and *Fowks* principally had bewitch'd them; and Agents for the Army who were up and down, weakend Mens hearts and hands, so as nothing was done to any purpose for putting them into a way of safety, or possibility of deliverance. All were desirous equally of Peace, but not all equally afraid of Danger; those who fear'd it most were the greatest cause of it: and some good well meaning Men of the Assembly, Mr. *Herbert Palmer* and others, whom Mr. *Marshall* had wrought upon and perswaded to come to the Houses first, as being Ministers and Ambassadors of Peace, to perswade to Peace, and then to the Common Council to do the like to them; which did but dishearten and discourage those who were apt enough to fear, being not so fully ready to resist a power that was coming upon them, and did hinder the preparations. To say the truth,

truth all was done that could be to hinder and little to help. Infomuch as at that very time when the Army was marching up for their destruction, about 49000 *l.* which had formerly been order'd to be sent down for the Army's drawing off further from the City, could not be privily convey'd out of Town by Sir *John Wollaston*, and some others, in which Mr. *Scawen* and Mr. *Allen* Members of the House, had a principal hand, which was as great a blow to Parliament and City as could be given; for it serv'd to keep the Soldiers together, and unite them for marching up, whereas before there were high discontents amongst them, and it weaken'd us, even taking away so much of our blood, that which at that time we principally stood in need of.

157. The Parliament did all that could be desir'd, yet still with a resolution to endeavour the ways of preventing extremities. Those Commissioners of theirs who were at the Army had in a manner disavowed them, for never any thing came from them to the Houses; and Mr. *Skippon*, when the City sent to him to come and take the conduct and manage-

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ment of their business, a duty they might very well have expected from him, he was so far from performing it as he absolutely refus'd except he might have an assurance from the Parliament, and from them, to return again to the Army if he lik'd not his conditions, which was a great ingratitude to those who had deserv'd so well of him, and an unworthy compliance with them who had formerly neglected him.

158. A Message was resolv'd upon to be sent to the Army, to see if they could be stopp'd from coming in that manner to endanger putting all into blood; Mr. *Swifen* and Mr. *Asburst* as I remember were nominated, the rest I have forgot. The like was also prepar'd in the City, and more quickly executed; upon Tuesday Alderman *Gibbs*, Mr. *Noel*, and some other Aldermen and Common Councilmen were appointed to go with it. And they soon return'd, not with an Olive branch, but with a heavy doom to the honour of the City, freedom of the Parliament, and safety of the poor eleven Members in the first place, and next of all that had engag'd in the defence of the City. The Keys of the City (if I mis-

misremember not) must be deliver'd to his Excellency, all the Works from the *Thames* side to *Islington* Fort demolisht; the eleven Members secur'd or given up; and all the Reformados and Officers likewise who were ready to have fought for them. This was as worthily by the Common Council yielded to, their Ambassadors notably promoting it. The eleven Members were not yet seiz'd nor deliver'd, but as bad, left to shift for themselves, no care at all taken for their preservation, tho the City had now this last time wholly embark'd in their trouble; and engag'd them in their business, petitioning the House of Commons to enjoin them to attend the Service of the House, themselves not at all moving in, or desiring it: Nay, they did not so much as provide for Major General *Massey*, whom they had made their Commander in chief; but like *Isachar* bow'd under the Burden, betray'd themselves and all that had to do with them.

159. Here was an end of the Parliament; and in truth of the City, all whose Glory is laid in the dust; and as it was high before in reputation both at home and abroad, so is it now be-

come a hissing and reproach to all that see it or hear of it. The next day Sir *Thomas Fairfax* sends to take possession, and the day after that marches in state, bringing with him those deserting Lords and Commons, and the Earl of *Manchester* and Mr. *Lenthal*, the two pretended Speakers, not vouchsafing to look upon the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who were there with the Recorder, provided with a Speech for his entertainment, which he did not so well deserve, as they did that scorn then put upon them.

160. He goes strait to the Houses, put those two Men in the Speakers places, who had no more right to them than himself, and has ever since continu'd them there by force, and keeping out the true Speakers; which the Lord *Willoughby* is to the Peers (that House being under an adjournment, and not sitting when the Intruder came in, so not in a capacity to admit him) and Mr. *Pelham* to the Commons, who had been legally chosen when the House was free and under no force; the other having deserted, which is of all Crimes the greatest.

161. So as without him it is no House, but an Assembly of Men acting under the Army without lawful authority; some of them by a combination and agreement with the Army, but far the greater part by a terror and an awe from it, and therefore to be look'd upon accordingly; and questionless many of them continuing there out of a good intent, like so many *Habsbaiss*, only to defeat the pernicious Counsels of those *Achitophels* who had design'd the destruction of *David*, the ruin of honest Men, and even the trouble and confusion of the whole *Israel* of God, Church and State. These are so far from deserving thereby either to become the object of blame or pardon, as they merit exceedingly, are worthy the praise both of present and future times; but to be consider'd rather as faithful Patriots, that act out of necessity in an extraordinary way, stand in the Gap to keep off mischief, than as Members of Parliament able or indeed qualify'd to exercise any parliamentary Power for the good of the Kingdom; the House having been disturb'd, and for the time suppress'd by a real Force, not feign'd and imaginary as the other was; and while this force con-

tinues, not suffer'd to come together, but as soon as it ceases will return of it self to be as it was before.

162. For there is a difference between these two Cases, one the Parliaments acting under a force, remaining still to be a Parliament, which dos not annul it, nor the Acts it dos; but makes them fit to be repeal'd, yet standing good *pro tempore*.

163. Many of our best Laws have been so made (when Armies have been on foot) and afterwards declar'd good in a free Parliament; and what then done did appear to be inconvenient and unjust, was by subsequent Parliaments repeal'd. So is it fit that what was compel'd to be done by the Apprentices and others in that tumultuous way, the Monday that the force was, should be repeal'd, as not fit to be continu'd. And so all that has been done a great while, under the power and force of the Army, since it first rebel'd and gave Laws to the Parliament, is as fit, if not more, to be hereafter repeal'd; and questionless will, if ever the Parliament come to be free again. Nay, even these pretenders do us that right,

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as finding the proceedings of the Parliament after their desertion not suitable to their Ends, but against them, by an Ordinance to repeal and declare them null; which otherwise had not been needful, seeing they would fall of themselves, being Crimes in their own nature as proceeding from an usurp'd Authority. This is one case; the other is, when a force proceeds so far and so high as not to suffer a Parliament to be, gives it such a wound as for the time it cannot act, but must cease, even as a wounded Body that lies in a Trance without sense or motion: But when that force is over, and the Spirits recollected, it returns to it self to do the functions of life, move and act as formerly. It is but like a Parenthesis in a Sentence, and remains one and the same as if the Parenthesis were not at all.

164. But to return where I left. This General, a setter up and puller down of Parliaments, has a Chair set him in either House, where first in the Lords House, then in the Commons, those pretended Speakers make Speeches to him, giving him thanks for all, approving his Declaration of the Reasons of his coming

to *London*, desiring him to go on in taking care for the security of the Kingdom, and to appoint a Guard for the Parliament. Than which there was never any thing more base; but Mr. *Lenthall* exceeded, being both base and prophane, applying a *Higgaior Selah* to this last act of his Excellency, who as wisely took it. Then that the prophaneſs might be compleat, and God mock'd as well as Men abus'd, they appoint the Thursday after for a day of Thanksgiving, and fitted it with Preachers, Mr. *Marſhal* and Mr. *Nye*, *Simeon* and *Levi*, where they say *Marſhal* outwent all that had gone before him, and his Brother *Nye* was a modest Presbyterian in comparison of him; but that Apostate went beyond *Ela*, making this deliverance a greater one than the Gunpowder Treason, as I have been credibly inform'd by those that heard him. And some few days after, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and the whole Army marcht in triumph with Lawrel in their Hats as Conquerors, through the subdu'd City of *London*, to shew it was at his mercy; which was an airy vanity I confess above my understanding, and might have rais'd a spirit of Indignation, not so easily to have been laid. But a higher insolency of

of an Army compos'd of so mean people, and a more patient humble submission and bearing of a great and populous City, but a little before so full of honour and greatness, was, I think, never heard of.

165. And now the Houses fall to voting, the Lords leading the way, and outdoing the Commons, as much as Mr. *Lenthall* outdid the Earl of *Manchester* in the Thanksgiving, or Mr. *Marshall* did Mr. *Nye* in the thanksgiving Sermon. They make Sir *Thomas Fairfax* Generalissimo, Commander in chief of all the Forces in the Kingdom, and Constable of the Tower, otherwise signifying Mr. *Olivier Cromwel*, of whom Sir *Thomas* was the shadow; they thank his Excellency over again for his care of the safety of the City and Parliament, *Risum teneatis amici*; leave it wholly to him to appoint what Guards he thinks fit for their security, *Sed quis custodiet custodes?* give a months Pay for a gratuity to the Army for their many good Services, which is *premium nequitie*; then set up the Star Chamber, the High Commission, the Spanish Inquisition, in one Committee of ten Lords and twenty Commoners (read over but their names, and you will swear
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it, except for four of the Commoners, who are very unequally yok'd, sixteen against them) to sit in the painted Chamber *de die in diem*, to examine the business of the Mutiny, and of forcing the Houses.

166. So far the Lords lead and the Commons follow; but in another Vote they go by themselves a good while, that all things done by the Members since (as they injuriously and falsely pretend) the Speakers and other Members were driven away from the Parliament, be annul'd, and of no effect, and declar'd to have been so at the making thereof. The Commons can't agree to this, but put off the debate to another time. Some sense of honour there was amongst them, and of the dangerous consequence of such a Vote, besides the unreasonableness and injustice, taking away the Authority by which those Votes were made, and so exposing to question and ruin all such as were at the passing of them, or had acted by them. Many days debates were spent upon it, but it could not be carry'd, the House of Commons would be a House of Commons still; and as they represent the people of *England*, so assert their Liberties, if they were left to themselves, and not overaw'd by the power of the Army.

167. Therefore the Agitators must to work again with an humble Address to his Excellency, and some Proposals on behalf of the Kingdom and the Army : First, That all those that have sat at *Westminster*, usurping a parliamentary Authority, since the forcible expulsion of the Parliament, may immediately be excluded the House. Secondly, That those Members who have adher'd to that pretended Parliament, may be also excluded under a penalty if they presume to sit. Thirdly, That all former Votes against disaffected Members may be put in execution. And this is to make a free Parliament, for those Rogues to determine who shall sit, who shall not, and how they shall be punish'd who disobey them. These Lords and Commoners deserve well of Parliament and Kingdom, that ran away from the Parliament, and went to the Army for this.

168. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and the Council of War answer presently, for it is but a Song of two parts, making one harmony, all set by the same hand. A Remonstrance is forthwith produc'd and sent to both Houses the 18th of *August*,

a sorrowful Ditty for the poor House of Commons, which tells them plainly, after a long deduction of all passages, just lying over the same Lies again, That those Members which sat during the absence of the Speakers, are guilty of the prosecution and maintenance of the said treasonable engagement and violence, and therefore must not be their Judges (but their adverse Party shall be theirs, which is Army Justice)-That they might have been made Prisoners of War; wherefore they protest and declare, if they hereafter intrude themselves to sit in Parliament, they can no longer suffer it, but will take some speedy effectual course, that both they and others guilty of the same practices may be brought to condign punishment.

1691 And they back this Remonstrance (for which the Lords return a Letter of approbation and great thanks to his Excellency for his continu'd care of the honour and freedom of Parliament) with a Party of a thousand Horse drawn up to *Hide-Park*; *Cromwel* and *Ireton* making menacing Speeches in the House, and Guards out of the Army besetting the doors and avenues. By all which means, and

and the terror of their surly impeaching looks (as some of the Pamphleteers observe it) many of the Members were driven away, and the poor House forc'd the 20th of *August*, to pass the Ordinance for declaring all Votes, Orders, and Ordinances, made in one or both Houses from *July* 26 till *August* 6, null and void. And now they are a free Parliament, or as *Hastlerig* told them the next day after the eleven Members were withdrawn, a glorious Parliament, in truth no Parliament; but they are what Mr. *Cromwel* will have them to be.

170. Then they lay about them, impeach seven Lords of High Treason, sparing only my Lord of *Pembroke*. They proceed against some of their own Members, suspend Mr. *Bainton*, put Commissary *Copley* and Mr. Recorder out of the House, whom they commit to the Tower for high Misdemeanours, expel likewise Sir *John Maynard*, and send him to the Tower. The rest of the eleven Members upon the City's delivering up it self and the Parliament to the will of the Army, having sent for their Passes which the House had order'd, and upon them withdrawn themselves into foreign

reign parts, the Lord Mayor and some of the Aldermen were likewise imprison'd in the Tower, and charg'd with Treason: And all honest Men persecuted, threaten'd, and therefore fled and scatter'd, some one way and some another; and these are the effects of a free Parliament.

171. The Lieutenant of the Tower, Colonel *West*, an honest and gallant Man, after he had been at charge to treat and entertain Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, coming to take possession of his Place as Constable, was by that worthy General, by way of thankfulness for his good entertainment, turn'd out: And an Independent, one *Tichburn* a Linen Draper, put in, which was done with so much insolency and scorn of the City, as when his favourite Alderman *Gibbs* had prepar'd a long winded Speech in the name of the City, who crav'd it as a Boon and Act of Grace, that he would keep in the old Lieutenant, he cut him off short, and bid him speak no more of it. Indeed it had been against his Instructions, and the Maxim of his Master *Cromwel* and all that faction, which is to suffer none in any power save such as are theirs Body and Soul, and put all others out.

172. So Colonel *Pointz* was seiz'd upon, and by force fetch'd out of his Command in the North; Major General *Massey* must not continue in his of the West; Captain *Patten* turn'd out of his Vice Admiralship, and *Rainsborough* put in; Colonel *Carne* out of the Government of the Isle of *Wight*, and *Hammond* in his room. The Self-denying Ordinance was a trick for this purpose. In the beginning of these troubles Sir *William Lewis* not agreeing with their Palate, being Governour of *Portsmouth*, they make the Earl of *Essex*, who was then General, send for him, upon a supposition that he was a favourer of Malignants, and of many other things; which being examin'd by the Committee of Safety, he gave so good an account of himself, as the Committee could not do less than write a Letter in his justification to the General, leaving it to him to repair him as he thought fit. Then some of these honest Men, who themselves had subscrib'd to it, sent a Letter privately to my Lord of *Essex*, by which they advis'd his not sending him back to *Portsmouth*; which jugling of things he receiv'd with indignation, and wish'd Sir *William Lewis* to

return to his Command: but he seeing what Men he had to deal with, quitted the Employment; and to say the truth, he only can be happy who has nothing to do with them, except it be in punishing them according to their demerits.

173. They have now they think both Houses to their minds, ready to do whatsoever they please. Accordingly the House of Commons orders those of the eleven Members, who were beyond Sea upon their Passes, which gave them liberty of travelling six Months, to appear the 16th of *October*, taking no course to have them summon'd, only notice to be given at their Houses, or places of their last abode, where few of us had any Servants, myself only an old Porter and a Maid or two.

174. Then they go on to the publick business, such work as the Army had cut out for them. Which were certain Proposals that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and the Council of War had sent them the 1st of *August*, sign'd by *John Rushworth* Secretary, now far above *John Brown* and *Henry Elsing*. In these they set down a new platform of Government, an *Utopia* of their

their own, take upon them to alter all, give Rules to all, cajole the King, claw with the people, cheat both, never intending good to either. The reading of the Articles themselves which are in print will satisfie every body; they need no Comment, and are so many, and of so vast a comprehension, as to treat of them all, to shew the absurdities, contradictions, impossibilities, unreasonableness, which many of them contain, would swell this to too big a Volume. I will only speak to some few, and shew how they dissolve the whole frame of this Monarchy, taking a sunder every part, pulling out every pin and new making it. First, The constitutions and proceedings of Parliaments, projecting new things for their beginnings, continuances, and endings, for the elections of Members, privileges and customs of the Houses, which they had violated before *de facto*, but now must be alter'd *de jure*. The Militia of the Kingdom, where they will have a General appointed to command it, Pay settled to maintain it, a Council of State to superintend it, which signifies to establish by Act of Parliament this holy Army, the Council of War, and General *Cromwel*. Then matters of the Church, where they will have no power

exercis'd to preserve Religion and Piety ; they would have Bishops so they may be just Cyphers, and all Acts to be repeal'd, which hinder Men from being Atheists or Independents ; for no body must be enjoin'd to come to the Church, and there may be Meetings to practise any thing of superstition and folly, the Covenant must be laid aside. In sum, it is to take away all Government and set up Independency. They propose a new way for making grand Jury-men, Justices of Peace, and Sheriffs. When these and many other things which they mention are settled, which will take up time enough, then the King, Queen, and Royal Issue to be restor'd, which is as much as just nothing. Next they make the people believe they do as great matters for them, will have a liberty of petitioning, which is but to make way for schismatical seditious Petitions ; for if any Petition stick at their *Diana*, none so fierce to punish. Who more than they against all the Petitions from *London* and the Counties for disbanding of the Army, and complaining of their factious ways ? how eager were they against the Petitions promoted in the City in the beginning, for which *Benson* was fined, and many troubled ; and some Petitions out of *Kent*, for which

which some Gentlemen were committed? How barbarously did they fall upon some poor women which came one time to *Westminster* petitioning for Peace, commanding a Troop of Horse to run over them, the Train'd Bands to shoot at them, whereby many were wounded and some kill'd? Yet the world must think they will have it free for all to petition. Then they will have the Excise taken off from some Commodities whereon the poor people live, and a time limited for taking off the whole; which was but to please and amuse them till they had got the mastery of those who they thought stood in their way: but being Masters themselves, they soon sent out a Command (more now than any Proclamation or Ordinance) to forbid all Soldiers any way to interrupt the levying of the Excise, or any other Tax charg'd by the Parliament, which they had made merely instrumental to poll the people for the support of them and their Faction. They will have no Tythes to be paid, and so Ministers to be starv'd, for in truth they would have no Ministers at all, or rather no Ministry; like *Julian* the Apostate, take away *presbyterium* not *presbyteros*: for Ministers that will be subservient to them, like *Mr. Marshal*, shall be much

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made of. The rules and course of Law must be reduc'd; indeed they will need no Law, for they will rule by the Sword, and the Councils of War shall supply all Courts of Justice. Prisoners for debt, if they have not wherewith to pay, must be freed; so we may be sure few debts shall be satisfy'd, for it is an easie thing so to convey or conceal an Estate, as nothing visible will be left for doing right to Creditors. None must be compell'd to answer to questions tending to the accusing themselves or their nearest Relations in criminal Causes, witness their Orders to make men under great Penalties state their Case in no less matter than Treason; therefore this is understood to extend only to the privilege of their own Faction. We must alter all Statutes and Customs of Corporations, and of imposing Oaths which may be constru'd to the molestation of religious people, that is, Independents, for all others are Greeks and Barbarians. Yet these men, in how many Letters and Declarations do they say and protest, they have no thought of setting up Independency, nor to meddle with any thing but what concerns the Soldiery, and leave all the rest to the wisdom of the Parliament. Indeed they conclude their Proposals with what concerns

cerns the Soldiery: That provision may be made for payment of Arrears to the Army, and the rest of the Soldiers of the Kingdom who have concurr'd with them in their late proceedings: and in the next place, of the publick debts and damages of the Kingdom, which they have taken a course that the Parliament shall never satisfie, having caus'd such a debt to the Soldiers, and so insupportable a charge for the maintenance of the Army, which is to be satisfy'd in the first place before other debts to the rest of the Kingdom, that the Subject is not able to bear it, but is utterly ruin'd.

175. To some of these Heads they say they will offer some speedy particulars in the nature of Rules, of good use to the publick: Rules indeed, from which, and from the Rulers, good Lord deliver us. But here you see they compile a work like the second part of *Solomon's*, treating from the Cedar in *Lebanon* to the Hyssop on the Wall; of all degrees and conditions, from the King that should be on the Throne to the Beggar in Prison. And since they have brought both ends together, so now we have a free Parliament and a free Kingdom.

176. Every day produces some effects of their tyranny and power, like another *Africk*, some Monster, tho they were not without their difficulties to wrestle with and overcome. For to bring so absolute a Bondage upon a people that was free before, could not be without many heats and colds. They had the King to deal with, whom they must in some measure satisfy and persuade that they had good intentions for him, to restore and maintain him in a power and dignity suitable to his Royal Person and Office, from which the truth and bottom of their design did differ *toto caelo* : they had the King's Party, whom they must entertain in hopes and expectation, and then cozen ; they had the Parliament which must be kept under, brought to obedience, and a total subservience to their will and command. They had the generality of the people, who were for Government and Monarchy founded upon Peace (as they had reason) desirous to be eas'd of their Burdens and Taxes, with hopes whereof the Army had seduced them, but it stood not with their Interest to procure it them. They had lastly their own faction which troubled them most of all, being violent, impatient, not to be gain'd

gain'd to go the pace of their Grandees, and wait the revolutions of time, which they desir'd might have taken place, for the same things to be effected which even those headstrong furious people coveted, but with more ease, advantage, and greatness to themselves.

177. For they apprehended it very dangerous to fall presently upon his Majesty and break with him, seeing the inclinations of the people towards him, and he at liberty for all persons to have access unto him, whom he might confer with, inform, and dispose according to occasion, perhaps take some resolutions which they apprehended might turn to their prejudice. Besides, they knew not how the Scottish Nation might then declare and engage, which with the help of those whom they had already discontented by their injustice and oppression in the execution of their particular malice and revenge, and those whom they should discontent by frustrating their expectation, having born them in hand with hopes of Peace and freedom from Taxes, must needs have given a great interruption to their proceedings, and even shake the foundation of their whole design; therefore they must

work in another way, make his Majesty believe they will do great things for him, so to receive rather an advantage than hinderance from his influence upon the affections of the Kingdom. To this end were all those applications to him by *Cromwel*, *Ireton*, and the rest of their Creatures and Instruments, in framing of the proposals, appearing for his interest in the House, seeming to desire his restitution, being now turn'd absolute Courtiers. They knew it would at last come all to one with that which they have since done to him. For, coming to a settlement with his concurrence, they had the power, he but *vanam imaginem*; and what of lustre and quietness had been contributed by his Majesty's conjunction, would but have serv'd to have confirm'd and heighten'd their authority, all had been but Stilts to raise them above the rest of the Kingdom and himself likewise; so as it had been in their power (as well as we are sure it had been in their will) to destroy him afterwards, he should have only been a little longer repriev'd, as *Ulysses* was by *Polyphemus* to be devour'd at last.

178. But the Party would not give way to this; hatred to the King, envy and jealousies

lousies against their aspiring Leaders, and a violent desire of having the work done at once, lay all persons and things level on the sudden, bring forth their monstrous conceptions all at one birth, made them break out, flye in their faces, discover many of their villanies, and, as appears by that business of *Lilburn* and *Wildman*, even resolve to take *Cromwel* out of the way, and murder him for an Apostate.

179. When *Cromwel*, *Ireton*, and the rest saw this, and that this madness of the inferiour sort of their Disciples, which had formerly rais'd them, supported them, and lately given them the advantage of their Enemies, victory over the Parliament, and a superiority over all the Kingdom, would now be their ruin, if either they clos'd throughly with the King (for then their Party would forsake them, turn against them, and they knew they had so well merited of King and Kingdom, as not to expect to be preserv'd in greatness, either for honesty or abilities) or if the King continu'd at liberty at *Hampton-Court*, or any other place, where freedom of resort might be to him, and opportunities taken and improv'd to meet with and pre-

prevent all their attempts, that then it would be impossible to carry on their business in an open and declar'd way of violence against him. They saw a necessity of removing him, and making sure his person; that done, they thought they might be bold to do and say what they would, and own a second time the actings and resolutions of the Agitators.

180. The difficulty was how to bring this about, to cozen the King so as to make him act it himself, and flie into the Cage; carry him by force they durst not, it would be unhandsom, it might be dangerous: They use this stratagem, heighten and sharpen underhand the mad humour of their Party against him, to have it break out all manner of ways, in threatening Speeches, Pamphlets; some consultations that whilst his Majesty liv'd in *England* he could not be safe; meetings to consider and come to some resolutions of taking him out of the way: the Army is again disquiet, the Officers not obey'd, all things tending to mutiny, and some violent eruption. Then dos Mr. *Cromwel* and his Cabinet Council seem to be extremely solicitous of the safety of his Majesty's person, cause some discoveries to be given

given him of his danger, express great indignation and trouble in the House, in the Army, and other places against these proceedings, act their parts so to the life, as the Life of a Man must go to make up the disguise: an Agitator whom at a Council of War, with two more, they condemned, was shot to death; so as the King could not but have a great confidence in these Men to believe that they were really for his preservation. At last *Cromwel* writes a Letter to *Whalley* (who commands the Guards about his Majesty's Person) to be shewn his Majesty; and other informations are likewise brought him, to make him believe that if he escap'd not presently he will be murder'd; and he is advis'd to go to the Isle of *Wight*, where they had beforehand provided him a Jaylor, Colonel *Hammond*, one for whom they said they could answer, that there his Majesty would be in safety, and they able to serve him.

181. Here they have the King safe enough, and now the Army is presently quiet, the Agitators as obedient as Lambs, and Councils of War are set up again to act as formerly. And Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, with their advice, sets out a Remonstrance

france to give satisfaction to the Army, which he concludes with a Protestation, to adhere to, conduct, live and die with the Army in the prosecution of some things there express'd; as namely, To obtain a present provision for constant Pay, stating of Accounts, security for Arrears, with an effectual and speedy course to raise Monies, a period to be set to this Parliament, provision for future Parliaments, the certainty of their meeting, sitting, and ending, the freedom and equality of Elections, and other things which he had the impudence and boldness to publish in print.

182. And now instead of the Proposals, they intend to send the four Bills to his Majesty to sign, which done, they would treat with him. By these Bills the Army was to be establish'd, which was the English of that for the Militia; and by another of them they would make sure, that the countenance of the Parliament and the acting of the Army should never be separated; which was the intent of that for power of adjourning. So as if at any time the just sense of Indignation, of so many Indignities and Injuries offer'd by the Army to all ranks of Men, Magistrates both
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supreme and subordinate, people of all conditions and degrees should stir them up to some endeavours of casting off this iron Yoke; their Party in Parliament, with their Speaker Mr. *Lenthall's* help, should presently be ready to adjourn to the Army, then damn and destroy all the world by colour of Law and power of the Sword; so King and Kingdom must be subject to a perpetual slavery by Act of Parliament.

183. The Scots were laid aside in this Address to his Majesty, contrary to the Treaty, and contrary to the Covenant. By the Treaty there ought to have been no application for Peace but with their advice and consent; here the Scots did not only not advise nor consent, but protest against it. By the Covenant all were bound to keep united, firm and close one to another, not to suffer themselves to be divided; here these Men do divide from the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, make a rent and breach between the Kingdoms in settling of the Peace, the very end both of Treaty and Covenant.

184. And for that subterfuge, that it is against the privilege of Parliament that
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any out of the Houses should interpose, or have any thing to do with Bills, it is a mere cavil, Fig-leaves which cover not their nakedness; for that would have been no more against Privilege, than was the whole transaction of business in carrying on of the War, and managing other great concerns of Parliament and Kingdom, wherein the Scots all along were admitted to participate in Counsel and Interest.

185. The King refusing to sign these Bills, *Hammond*, by Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* single order, claps him up a Prisoner, removes all his Servants. It seems by this time they had forgot their Remonstrance of the 23^d of *June*, where they say it is against their principles to imprison the King, and that there can be no Peace without due consideration of his Majesty's Rights: But then was then, and now is now. It was then necessary for the good of their Affairs to seem gracious, desirous of Peace, and of restoring the King. Now they appear in their own colours, their nature having no restraint; nay, Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* Command is so absolute and sacred, as Captain *Burley* was hang'd for endeavouring

to oppose it, there being at that time no other pretence for his Majesty's Imprisonment, but because Sir *Thomas Fairfax* had commanded it: it is true, that upon his signification to the Houses of what he had done, it was approv'd of and confirm'd.

186. All this while a rigorous hand is continu'd against the impeach'd Lords who were under the Black Rod, the Gentlemen of the House of Commons, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in the Tower, who had been kept Prisoners so many Months, upon a general Impeachment, and no particular Charge against them. It was often endeavour'd in the House to have pass'd the Articles which were brought in against the Lord *Wiltoughby*, to be a leading Case to the rest. Where I cannot pass by, that I find he is charg'd with Treason for levying War against the King, and this done by the same persons that imprison the King, and had hang'd *Burley* for levying War for him: One may see they will find matter to hang on all hands. Many debates were had on this business, and at last it was resolv'd to lay the Articles aside.

187. The seven Lords still press'd for
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their Trial, the House of Peers as often sent down to the House of Commons to give them notice of it; and no Charge coming up, they set them at liberty. The Common Council likewise petition'd for the liberty of their Members in the Tower; which the Army took so heinously, as that and the laying aside of the Charge against the Lord *Willoughby*, together with a Vote which had pass'd for disbanding the supernumerary Forces, produce a thundring Remonstrance of *December the 7th*, casting in the Parliaments teeth their delays and neglects: That the Army had with patience waited four Months upon them: That finding such obstructions in matters of supply, and such unworthy requital, they apprehended God upbraids their care to preserve a people given up to their own destruction: That they could, to speak Amen, with the power and advantages God had put into their hands (for so is their expression) have put the Army and other Forces engag'd with it into such a posture as to have assur'd themselves of Pay, and made their opposers have follow'd them with offers of satisfaction: That now all business seems to be wrapt up in one bare Vote, That all supernumery Forces should
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be disbanded, which Vote they say they cannot imagine to be absolute and sovereign: They offer as their final advice, that 40000 *l.* more *per mensem* be added to the 60000 *l.* that is in all 100000 *l.* a Month. That for the more sure and ready payment, the Forces may be immediately assign'd to several Counties, out of whose Taxes they shall be paid, and the General have power to make those distributions. And many things more they offer, or rather order for the payment of the Soldiers so peremptorily, as if it be not granted and pass'd effectually by the end of that present week, they say they can give no longer account of the Army in a regular way; but if they find not satisfaction in their judgments, must take some extraordinary ways of power. Then they come and vent their malice against the City, of which they say they have been so tender; witness their carriage in their late advance towards it, notwithstanding provocations, their innocent march through it, their patient waiting for their long due Arrears. But now Justice forces them to desire that (the adjacent Counties being undone, and the whole Kingdom groaning under the oppressions of free Quarter,

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whilst the City, which occasions all, is free of it) there be no longer stop to the drawing thither of the Army: That besides levying the arrear of the Tax, it make reparation to the parts adjacent of 100000 l. damage: That if they be necessitated or call'd on by the County, they must on their behalf demand of the City to the full: They earnestly desire, that the proceedings against the Citizens and others impeach'd may be hasten'd, and that out of their Fines and Confiscations some part of reparation be made to the Country. Then they say they see not how the Parliament can sit in safety if the Army should never so little withdraw, when they find the Common Council, thro the Parliament and Army's lenity, take the boldness already, in the face of both, to intercede for the release and acquittal, or rather justification of those impeach'd Persons, who are but fellow Delinquents to most of that Council: That the consideration of this, and the renew'd confidence of Mr. *Gwin*, and other Members, partakers in the same things, who presume to sit in the House, makes them fear, that through lenity and moderation, so much of the same Leven is left behind, as even the worst of the eleven Members (notwithstanding

standing their double Crimes) may be again call'd for in, unless the House by some exclusive resolutions and proceedings do timely prevent the same.

188. Indeed these are gracious Princes, full of lenity and moderation, by their own sayings; but they dwell by ill Neighbours, that they must commend themselves, for no body else will do it. The Parliament is beholden to them, they tell them their faults, bid them not trust so much to their Votes, which are not absolute nor sovereign; let them know what is their duty to do, and give a short day to perform it in, lest they should be idle, and a worse thing fall upon them. The Country is beholden to them, who now know the worst of it; 100000 *l.* to be monthly rais'd to ease them of Taxes, and the Excise according to promise: but then they have to help them, reparation from the City for former damages, and the persons appointed out of whose Estates it must be paid by way of Fine or Confiscation, whether they prove guilty or no; and they are not wanting in their expressions to the City of their tenderness of it, wherefore they give good instance, coming against it with Banners display'd,

Horse and Foot armed, Cannon loaden, and only take possession of their Works and of the Tower, change their Militia, take from them *Westminster* and *Southwark*, commit their Mayor and principal Aldermen, yet doing the City no hurt (like the Fryer in *Chancer*, who would have but of the Capon the Liver, and of a Pig the head, yet nothing for him should be dead) then marching through it so innocently, only putting that scorn upon them which none of their Kings ever did when most provok'd; that to have endur'd a plundering had been more honourable: Then waited so patiently for their Arrears, when they had a great part of the 200000 *l.* which the City had lent for their disbanding, had taken that Money, yet would not disband, and destroy'd Trade by their late Rebellion; and now having so long lain upon free quarter all about, that they had made Provisions excessive dear, and almost famish'd the City, to express a desire to come and quarter in it, which sure was for their good, only Justice made them move they should pay 100000 *l.* for reparation to the Country; that their best Members, greatest Aldermen, and others, and their Lord Mayor, whom they had caus'd to be

be unjustly committed, should be as unjustly fin'd and ruin'd; and then charge so honourable a Court as the Common Council with Treason.

189. Then for the eleven Members, how much they are beholden to them is beyond expression, all their Remonstrances, as well as this make it appear; here they desir'd only they might have a Writ of ease from attending the Parliament any more, out of their abounding care for the freedom of Parliaments, and the free sitting and voting of the Members.

190. And they will be sure to have all put in execution, the refractory House of Commons shall make them wait no longer. A Regiment or two of Foot march and quarter in *White-Hall*, as many Horse in the *Mews* (they having provided another Lodging for the King, therefore making bold with his Majesty's House) and then they think they can take a course both with the Parliament and City; which in truth they do full handsomly.

191. For presently they make them resume the consideration of the Charge
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against the Lord *Willoughby*, and pass it, and likewise against the rest of those Lords, and Sir *John Maynard*; carry it up to the House of Lords, and demand the recommitting of those Lords, and putting them to their answer. Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, the now worthy Governor of *Newcastle*, staid in town from going to take possession of his Command, only to do this feat; so to make good what he before said, when they could not upon a long debate, and the laying out of all their strength and power, carry the Impeachment, that it was no matter, the Army should impeach them all.

192. A little after the Lord *Grey of Groby* sets on foot the motion concerning those of the eleven Members who were beyond Sea, having had Passes to travel for six Months, and most of them written or sent to the Speaker and other Gentlemen of the House, to desire the favor of a longer continuance, in regard it was winter, and ill crossing the Seas; but if it would not be granted, upon signification of their pleasure, they would immediately return. They had likewise (upon occasion of the Order of Summons) written

ten of the uncertain report they had heard of such a thing long after it was done, that if notice had been given them of it, they had not fail'd to appear, and would if they might be certify'd that the House continu'd in the same resolution; so confident were they of their innocency, tho they knew the malice of their Enemies, and their violence and force upon the Parliament: But proceedings since have made it clear what Justice they should have found. For notwithstanding all this, those Horse and Foot were so powerful an argument against them, backing the Remonstrance for the exclusive resolution, that it was carry'd to expel them the House, and Impeachments order'd to be brought in. A parallel proceeding to this was never known in Parliament, where it has not been refus'd to any, especially who were beyond Sea, or in truth any where absent upon leave, to give a further day upon non-appearance the first; and in our Case there was a great deal more reason, considering the season of the year, the occasion of our departure (then look'd upon as a merit) our readiness to obey upon the first Summons. All this writes but their Injustice and our Oppression in the more Capital Letters.

193. I am now coming to the Catastrophe of this Tragedy, the last and most horrid Act. The Parliament forc'd to do that which is unnatural against the being of Parliament, the end for which it is call'd, which has *rationem formæ* in all moral things; that is, to declare they will make no further address or application to the King, receive none from him, nor suffer it in others; which is, as if a Limb should cut it self off from the Body, and thereby deprive it self of life and nourishment: For the communication between the King and Parliament is that which gives it being and life. It is call'd by the King, *ad colloquium habendum & tractatum cum proceribus Regni*, &c. They are the words of the Writ which brings them together. Now there is *Colloquium & Tractatus* cut off, which was the first unhappy breach between his Majesty and this Parliament, and which the Parliament found themselves griev'd at, that he had withdrawn himself from them, so as they could not repair unto him for advice and counsel. And in all our Declarations and Messages in the beginning, until these people (who it seems had projected from the first what they have now acted)

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got to the Helm, and steer'd us into this violent tempestuous Course, that we neither see our Pole, nor use our Compass; we still desir'd, press'd, endeavour'd his Majesty's return to his Parliament: But they say he shall not return, the Regal Power they have assum'd, they will keep it and exercise it. They will no longer be fellow Subjects with the rest of the Kingdom, but Lords and Masters. Those whom they represent, and whose substitutes they are, they will put under their foot; as if an Ambassadour should renounce the Prince that sent him, and say he will make his own Dignity real and original, which is but representative and deriv'd, take away the substance and yet the shadow remain: certainly this is exceedingly against nature, and will turn all upside down; yet this disorder must be made perpetual, put out of all possibility of recovery, like Death, from which there can be no returning. For admit the King would grant all that they have desir'd or can desire, give them all imaginable security for it, it is impossible it should be made known, and so cannot be receiv'd, and by consequence our Peace never be settled; which is casting the Kingdom into a mortal disease, putting it past cure, past hope.

194. To shew by what Magick this Spirit is rais'd, you have his fellow Devil immediately call'd up by a Council of War; a Declaration comes from his Excellency and the general Council of the Army from *Windsor*, bearing date the 9th of *January*, presented to the House the 11th by Sir *Hardress Waller*, wherein they give their approbation of the Votes, say the Parliament in that Address to the King, with the four Bills, could go no lower without denying that which God, in the issue of War, had born such testimony unto: That they account that great business of a settlement to the Kingdom, and security to the publick interest thereof, by and with the King's concurrence, to be brought to so clear a trial, as that upon the King's denial, they can see no further hopes of settlement and security that way; therefore upon the consideration of that denial, added to so many other such Votes as had been pass'd that no further application should be made to him, &c. They do freely and unanimously declare for themselves and the Army, that they are resolv'd firmly to adhere with and stand by the Parliament in the things so voted, and in what

what shall be further necessary for the prosecution thereof, and for the settling and securing the Parliament and Kingdom without the King, and against the King, or any other that shall hereafter partake with him.

195. And in this I believe them, being (I am confident) the only truth has proceeded from them in all their Declarations or Proposals, with relation to his Majesty. I would remember them, if 'twere to any purpose, of some of their former professions, That it was against their principles to imprison the King, that no Peace could be lasting without him, and the like. But they can blow hot and cold, as the fellow in the Fable, to make all the Satyrs, and almost the Devil himself abhor them, as afraid to be outdone by them in his own art of lying and dissembling. Therefore I shall not trouble my self any more with blazoning their Coat Armour, which is nothing but false colours and base metals: Their Impostures, Contradictions, Falshoods, Hypocrisies, and damnable Delusions being beyond all Heraldry, not to be trick'd within the compass of any Scutcheon.

196. I will only add one Scene more of this last Act, represented in the House of Commons. I do not hear that the House of Peers have had any part in it. But the Commons, like the Consistory of *Rome*, have spent much time since in hunting out the Premises, to infer the Conclusion formerly agreed upon, a Declaration, or rather rhetorical Invektive, to perswade mens Affections, not convince their Judgments of those enormities in the King, which should justly merit, and so justify the resolutions taken concerning him. The particulars are such, as truly I cannot name without horror, *Auferat oblivio si potest, si non, silentium tegat* : I would forget that ever such a thing was done by the Parliament. I will only say this of that Faction (for I look upon it merely as their act and their Army's, who have forc'd the House to it, as they have to all the rest since the breaking out of their Rebellion, the owning them, paying them, voting their continuance, expelling, committing, impeaching their own Members, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*, doing what not for the encreasing their own shame, and setting up their *Diana*, that Idol of

con-

confusion) That if they themselves believe that to be true which they there relate, they are excellent good Patriots, and notable Justices, to see and not see faults for their own advantage. For if the King would have agreed to such Conditions as they propos'd to him, and such a Settlement as had been in order to their Ends, to have continu'd an Omnipotency in them and ruin'd the rest of the Kingdom, these things had been all dispens'd with, sacrific'd to their greatness, and the advancement of their *Dagon*; then nothing but *Hosannah's* in their mouths, no Peace could be lasting without due consideration of his Rights; far was it from them to have a thought of imprisoning him; he had been their good King, and they his and our gracious Masters. But now that his Majesty had discover'd their aims, and would not contribute to them, he is an *Anathema*, guilty of such and so many crimes, as not to be found scarce in any one person; and now these Men of *Belial* can say he shall not reign over us. For the things themselves, I doubt not but there are those who knowing the *Arca-na Imperii*, will give satisfaction to the world by a faithful and clear manifestation of his Majesty's Actions and Counsels

sels relating to them. I who stand below and at distance, as I cannot have the knowledg of such high things, so will not presume to meddle with them, only upon the general say, that methinks in reason those things cannot be; for to destroy the Protestants in *France*, whose preservation must needs be as a contentment to the Soul of a Protestant King, so a strength and advantage to his Interest, were strange State-policy. And as for the Rebellion of *Ireland*, to cut off so great a Limb from himself, pluck off one of the three Flowers of his Crown, is, methinks, to be *Felo de se*. To speak nothing of that concerning King *James*, an act so monstrous as not to be suspected in a Heathen, not to be found in heathenish *Rome*, much less in a Christian; truly I cannot, as a rational Man, bring my judgment to admit of a belief of those things; and then certainly Charity obliges to hope better, believe better of any Man, much more of a King, and of our own King, whom *Salomon* tells us we are not to curse, no, not in thought, much less, which *Job* blames, tell him, and tell the world he is wicked and ungodly, least of all when there is not a clear and undeniable proof. And even their

their expressions in their Declaration are not positive, as if the subject matter were only *allegatum*, not at all *probatum*, and rather set forth *ad captandum populum*, to gain, if possible, an approbation of the vulgar of what they had done, than that they conceiv'd it would find credit with rational and judicious Men, or that themselves thought it to be a truth. For the other things, as Knighthood, Ship-money, &c. any thing by which the Subject has been oppress'd and his Purse pick'd, they of all Men should not find fault, whose little Finger has been heavier than the Loins of Monarchy. What was all that in comparison of free Quarter, Excise, and even the 100000 l. a Month, which they say they must have for the maintenance of the Army? those were but Flea-bitings to these. At the worst one may say, we were then chastis'd with Whips, but now with Scorpions.

197. And so I hope I have made good what I undertook in the beginning, having made it appear, that England is become, by the actings of these Men, that Monster whose shape is perverted, the head standing where the feet, and the feet where the head should be, mean Men

Men mounted aloft, and all that is or should be great, Lacqueying it after them: The authority of the Magistrate suppress'd, and the will of particular persons made the Law of the Kingdom, Justice obstructed, and Violence in the room of it; King and Parliament trodden under foot, and an Army insulting over the Persons and Estates of the Subject; so as we may take up the Psalmist's Complaint, That the very Foundations are destroy'd, and what then can the Righteous do?

198. I will conclude all with this short Epiphonema: If such a complicated Treason as this, which they have design'd and carry'd on all along, consisting of so many several parts, by betraying all the Trusts Men can be capable of, as Subjects to their King, Servants to their Masters, an Army to them that rais'd and paid them, English Men to their Country, and which is more, Christians to their God, bound up yet in a more particular obligation by Covenant, Vows, and Protestations; all these Relations thrown aside, nothing of Duty, Conscience, or Morality to stand in the way, that could either be remov'd or overcome,

come, eluded or broken through. If, I say, a Treason rais'd up to this height, by so many several steps of Hypocrisie, Treachery, Perfidiousness, Injustice, Violence, and Cruelty, can be made good, and the Actors prosper, blessing themselves in their success, sacrificing to their Nets and Gins, by which they have snar'd and destroy'd all their opposers: And on the other side, if no blessing must be on the good endeavours of those who only had propos'd to themselves *Bonum publicum*, had nothing in particular in their Eye, sought nothing for themselves, but to find their safety compris'd and contain'd in the happiness and welfare of the King, Parliament, and Kingdom; like the honest Passengers that seek their preservation in saving the Ship they sail in (as I can speak it for a truth, take the God of Heaven for Witness, and defie all the Men on Earth to disprove it) that I for my part (and I hope the same of those other persons of Honour, Members of both Houses, with whom I have cooperated, and now partake in their sufferings) never had other end: Let the Earl of *Manchester* speak, who has been present at and privy to all our Consultations, and is now join'd and engag'd with the Army, and those

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other

other Men who carry on this pernicious design, where, besides the universal desolation of the whole Kingdom, there is a particularity against me for my ruin and destruction, and therefore I doubt not but he will say all he knows: Let Mr. *Reynolds* of the House of Commons, who went a long time and a great way with us, but is since fallen off and become thoroughly theirs; the same I say of Colonel *Harvy*, who was long enough in our Ears, and in our Bosoms, to bottom all our thoughts, know all our desires. If these or any other, even that malicious and treacherous Lord *Savil*, can say, that at any time, upon any occasion, I propos'd any thing that look'd towards a self End, the driving of any particular Interest, setting up of any Party, but merely to prevent these fearful Precipices into which the Kingdom is fallen, by the art and practices of these Enemies of Peace, and to attain such a settlement, as all honest moderate Men might have found in it both security and satisfaction: If they can, let them speak; and if they prove one tittle, I will put my Mouth in the dust, I will bear my punishment, and expect mercy neither from God nor Man; nay, even in relation to the Army, and those persons who
have

have a long time sought my ruin, if all I desir'd and aim'd at in disbanding that schismatical factious Soldiery, in carrying on the business of the House in opposition to that Party, and even in this last great Treason of levying War against King, Parliament, and Kingdom (as they stile it) which was only to do my best endeavour to defend them and my self from a rebellious Army that was marching up for all our destructions, contrary to the Orders of both Houses, against whom it first rebell'd instead of an obedient disbanding; then cudgel'd them to own it for their Army, forc'd the City into a trouble, and shew of opposition to what it had made the Parliament do; then took that occasion to march both against it and the Parliament. If notwithstanding all this, in what I did, I had any thought of personal revenge, or to do the least hurt to any particular person in case we had prevail'd, but only to return into the way whence we were put out, of a free quiet Parliamentary proceeding, to accomplish the great work of settling the Peace both of Church and State, let me perish; and God, who is the searcher of hearts, knows I now speak nothing but truth.

199. Well then, I say, if all our endeavours must, like an untimely birth, come to nothing, our hope be cut off, our persons destroy'd, our integrity, innocency, fidelity question'd and decry'd, our good names traduc'd, torn in sunder, our memories made to stink to all posterity, by the false calumnies of our malicious Enemies, and their power in suppressing truth, and which is worst (for all this is but particular) the general, the publick, the Common wealth, once in so fair a way of recovery, at the eve of a happy day, to be rid of Armies, enjoy a Peace, hear no more of the Instruments of War, but see a blessed composition of all unhappy differences, reap the fruits of Justice and Mercy; and upon a sudden to find all this but as the hungry man's Dream, who is the more empty when he awakes, so instead of this solid happiness to embrace a Cloud, have nothing but the empty promises of a false deceitful Army, and be cast back into a greater gulf of misery and confusion than all the enemies in the World could have brought it into, and the latter end to be far worse than the beginning:

200. If this be our Portion, were I a Heathen, I should say with *Brutus* when he meant to kill himself, seeing the assertors of publick Liberty overcome and ruin'd, and the Invaders prevail and conquer, *O misera Virtus! eras igitur fabula, seu verba; ego te ut rem colebam & exercebam, tu autem fortuna serviebas.* But being a Christian, I am taught another Lesson, to know that nothing comes by chance. God, who dos all things in number, weight, and measure, orders and disposes all as may most make for his own Honour, and the good of his Church and Children, to which even the wickedness of the wicked, and these Disorders will conduce, tho the wit of Man cannot fathom it: therefore I will lay my Hand upon my Mouth, and not once whisper, because the Lord has done it, only take up *St. Paul's* admiration, and with it end, crying out, *O Altitudo! O the Depth of the Riches both of the Wisdom and Knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his Judgments, and his Ways past finding out!*

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